ASIAN INTERACTIONS & COMPARISONS

TANSEN SEN

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Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade



THE REALIGNMENT OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS, 600–1400

Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade

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The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600–1400

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SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

With the waning influence of Marxism in China over the past two decades, Buddhism stands historically alone as the only foreign system of thought that transformed Chinese belief and practice en masse. The process of that transformation did not, of course, take place over night, but required centuries of often intricate relations—commercial, military, cultural, and religious—with the country of the Buddha's birth, India.

This volume by Tansen Sen looks not at the initial centuries of Buddhism's arrival in China and its planting of roots east of the Himalayas, but at the seventh to the fifteenth centuries, when Buddhism became the religion of China. As Professor Sen makes clear, this change also required many centuries. It necessitated, among other things, the transformation of China from a country on the periphery of Buddhism's sacred homeland, India, into a sacred land itself outfitted by its clergy with sacred sites, a distinctive doctrine that made a semblance of peace with the contrary views of Confucianism and Daoism, and a new relationship with India.

The non-specialist reader may be surprised by the inclusion of the period after the Tang dynasty (618–907) as central to this study. As Professor Sen notes, Buddhism did not wither and die by the end of Tang, as is so frequently argued, but in fact was strengthened in the subsequent Song period (960–1279). The latter era witnessed continued contacts with India, perhaps on an even greater scale than during the Tang, and more Indian texts translated into Chinese than in earlier eras.

This is not, however, a book solely about the intricacies of Buddhist doctrine and the immensely complex history of doctrinal battles.

As his title indicates, it is primarily about commercial and diplomatic interactions with India through the Tang and Song periods in China, interactions in which Buddhism initially played a seminal role. But, it is equally concerned with the transformation of Sino-Indian relations from a Buddhist-dominated phenomenon to trade-centered exchanges over the course of the centuries under study.

Professor Sen brings to this extraordinary, multilevel study a high level of erudition in both Indian languages and Chinese—to say nothing of the various languages needed for his secondary sources. And, yet, the work is written in a style that any scholar of Asian history—not just those with minds fine-tuned to the complexities of Buddhist disputation—will readily enjoy. We are exceedingly proud to be able to offer it in our series.

Joshua A. Fogel, Series Editor

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As I set out to write this book, I was fortunate to have met and learned from some of the leading scholars of Buddhist interactions between India and China working in Kyoto. Professor Kuwayama Shōshin was my host at the Institute for Research in Humanities at the Kyoto University. Despite his preeminent position at the Institute, Professor Kuwayama took time to personally lead me through the streets of Kyoto in search of a dormitory and research material. In his office, Professor Kuwayama generously shared his publications and in-depth knowledge of the southern Hindukush region. I am extremely grateful to him for his kind support and most helpful guidance.

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This book was completed at the cost of neglecting my wife, Liang Fan. I would like to thank her for putting up with me during the length of this project. Unbeknown to her, I have gained a lot intellectually from being in her company and listening to her insightful views. I would also like to thank my parents, especially my father, who took me with them to China and initiated me into the field of Chinese studies.

While this book may not have been completed without the help and assistance from the individuals and institutions mentioned above, I alone am responsible for the mistakes that may appear in the following pages.

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text, notes, and bibliography.

Ch.	Chinese
H.	*Zhonghua dazang jing*
Jp.	Japanese
P.	Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris
S.	Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, Stein Collection of the British Library
Skt.	Sanskrit
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
Tib.	Tibetan

INTRODUCTION

China's Encounter and Predicament with the Indic World

Cross-cultural relations between ancient India and China were unique and multifaceted.[1] Separated by physical barriers, the two regions developed their distinct cultural traditions, belief systems, political organizations, and views regarding their place in the wider world. The cultural attainments of these two civilizations gradually spread to and influenced various neighboring societies. While religious elements and political ideas originating in India permeated into Southeast Asian kingdoms and the oasis states of Central Asia, Korea and Japan in East Asia prospered through their interactions with the Chinese civilization. Indeed, in the early first millennium C.E., when a Buddhist nexus was established between India and China, the two countries had not only achieved a high level of social, political, and cultural sophistication, they also fostered spheres of influence over other regional cultures of Asia.

The transmission of Buddhist doctrines from one complex society to another was an arduous process, the intricacy of which exemplifies the unique nature of Sino-Indian intercourse. In order to introduce the teachings of the Buddha to the potential Chinese adherents, the transmitters had to take into account major linguistic differences, a totally distinct array of allegories, and a contrasting set of social values and eschatological views shaped by Confucian ideas on filial piety. The success of their endeavor is evident from the chapters that follow.

The establishment of Buddhism in China triggered a profusion of religious exchanges between India and China, and, at the same time, stimulated the trading relations between the two countries.

Xinru Liu has proposed that Sino-Indian exchanges during the first six centuries of the first millennium were founded upon an interdependent network of long-distance trade and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines.[2] This interdependent network, a detailed explanation of which is given later in the book, not only sustained the growth of premodern Sino-Indian relations, but also had a tremendous impact on the intermediary states. In fact, by the seventh century, most of Asia, China, India, and their respective spheres of influence, were fully integrated into this network of religious and commercial intercourse between India and China.

The present study starts from this acclaimed peak of Sino-Indian relations in the seventh century and closes with the apogee-making voyages of the Ming (1368–1644) naval fleet under the command of Admiral Zheng He (1371–1433) to the Indian ports in the early fifteenth century. Although the significance of Sino-Indian exchanges during the seventh and in the early fifteenth centuries is widely acknowledged, the profound developments that had gradually transformed the fundamental nature of the bilateral relations in the interim eight centuries have been neglected. There are, in fact, serious gaps in the understanding of Sino-Indian interchange from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. The Tang period (618–907), for example, is trumpeted as the "Golden Age" of premodern exchanges between India and China without any critical examination. No attempt has been made to either examine the changing nature of Buddhist intercourse between India and China during the Tang dynasty or explain the ramifications of these changes on the relations between the two countries. What is more, the interregnum between the tenth and fifteenth centuries is purported to be a period of "decline" and thus found irrelevant to Sino-Indian exchanges.

By focusing on the changes in Buddhist and commercial interactions between India and China, this book contends that Sino-Indian relations witnessed a significant restructuring between the seventh and the fifteenth centuries. While in the first millennium the sacred Buddhist sites in India were the pivot of Sino-Indian interactions, the lucrative markets of China and the expanding intercontinental commerce emerged as the main stimuli for the bilateral relations since the early eleventh century. In other words, the relations between India and China during the period examined in this study were realigned from Buddhist-dominated to trade-centered exchanges. The chapters that follow analyze the origins,

course, and implications of this momentous transformation of Sino-Indian relations.

Initial Encounters between India and China

The initial encounter between India and China stemmed from military exigencies and was subsequently fostered by itinerant merchants. Zhang Qian (167?–114 B.C.E.), who was sent to Bactria in Central Asia in 138 B.C.E. by the Former Han court (202 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) to forge an alliance against the nomadic Xiongnu empire, on his return reported to the Han court about the existence of a trade route linking southwestern China to India.[3] The *Shiji* (Records of the Grand Historian), the first Chinese dynastic history that was compiled some two centuries before Buddhist doctrines penetrated into Chinese society, narrates the ensuing plan by the Han officials to locate and monopolize this route to India.[4] The aim of the Han court was to establish an alternate route to Central Asia through India. The Han emissaries sent to southwestern China, however, failed in their endeavor, we are told, because of the resistance from local tribes in the region. Nonetheless, in the next two centuries, especially after the collapse of the Xiongnu confederation in 55 B.C.E. and the subsequent expansion of the Han empire into the Pamir regions, the interactions between the Han court and northern India grew at a rapid pace.

By the end of the first century C.E., when the next dynastic history, the *Han shu* (History of the Han [Dynasty]), was compiled by Ban Gu (32–92), the Chinese had already gathered detailed information about the southern Hindukush region, then dominated by Greek colonies.[5] This area, especially the kingdom of Jibin (around the Gandhāra region),[6] due to its proximity to the nomadic tribes in Central Asia and the Chinese military garrisons in the Pamirs, was of great importance to the Han court. The Chinese desire to establish official contacts and their attempts to gain a military foothold in the region are evident from Ban Gu's record.

After narrating the flora, fauna, and the developed socio-economic system of the kingdom of Jibin, Ban Gu accuses the King Wutoulao (Azilises, fl. first century B.C.E.) of assaulting Chinese envoys (*Hanshi*).[7] After the death of Azilises, his son Azes II became the king and is reported to have dispatched a tributary mission to China.[8] Perhaps as a response to this seemingly friendly gesture, the *Guan duwei* (Commandant-in-chief of the Customs Barrier) Wen Zhong, from his

garrison in western China, responded with an envoy of his own. However, the new king of Jibin, we are told, "also intended to harm" the Chinese emissaries. As a result, Wen Zhong, in alliance with a Greek settler, attacked Jibin and killed Azes II. Matters did not improve even after Wen Zhong installed the Greek ally, named Yinmopu (Hermaeus), as the new ruler of Jibin.[9] In fact, like Azilises and Azes II, Hermaeus, too, was accused of assaulting Chinese envoys visiting his court. The hostilities between the Han court and the Jibin kingdom may have stemmed from the fact that the local rulers were adamantly opposed to the expansionist activities of the Chinese in Central Asia. They may have been especially concerned about the Chinese intervention in the internal affairs of the southern Hindukush region.

Chinese frustration over their diplomatic failure in the southern Hindukush region is expressed in a dialogue between the Han official Du Qin and General Wang Feng that purportedly took place during the reign of Emperor Cheng (r. 32–7 B.C.E.). Offended by the frequent trips of Jibin traders to the Chinese markets, Du Qin complained that the South Asian kingdom had not been dispatching high-ranking officials or nobles as tribute carriers and instead allowing lowly profit-seekers to enter the Chinese capital.[10] Although the Han court failed to establish favorable diplomatic alliance with the rulers in the southern Hindukush region, it is clear from Du Qin's complaint that the commercial contacts between China and northern India had experienced rapid growth in the second half of the first century B.C.E. The rest of South Asia, however, remained relatively obscure to the Chinese. The few sentences devoted to "Shendu" (India, indicating the region south of Gandhāra) in the *Han shu* are repetitions of Zhang Qian's report on the southwestern route connecting India and China.[11] This lack of any new information suggests that the Chinese court had limited, if any, direct contacts with the region south of Gandhāra before the introduction of Buddhism.

Ban Gu and the Chinese emissaries visiting Gandhāra seem to have found it irrelevant, at the beginning of the first millennium, to mention the Buddhist doctrines practiced in the southern Hindukush region or by some of the Central Asian traders frequenting Chinese markets. Nonetheless, the filtration of Buddhist ideas into China seems to have started during the lifetime of Ban Gu. Erik Zürcher, for example, has argued that this process may have started "between the first half of the first century B.C.—the period of the consolida-

tion of the Chinese power in Central Asia—and the middle of the first century A.D., when the existence of Buddhism is attested for the first time in contemporary Chinese sources."[12] Indeed, Fan Ye (398–445), the author of the *Hou Han shu* (History of the Later Han [Dynasty]), associates Prince Ying of Chu, one of the sons of Emperor Guangwu (r. 25–58) and a half-brother of Emperor Ming (r. 58–75), with early Buddhist practices in China. Prince Ying, according to Fan Ye's report, provided feasts to Buddhist monks and laypersons. This episode is usually dated as occurring between 52–70, when the prince was residing at Pengcheng (present-day Xuzhou, Jiangsu province).[13]

Although archeological sources have yet to validate the presence of Buddhist institutions in China during the first century, recent discoveries of Buddhist imagery testify to the growing knowledge and interest in certain aspects of the doctrine among the Chinese from at least the mid-second century C.E. Since Wu Hung and Marylin Rhie have analyzed this evidence in detail,[14] it suffices here to list some of the main discoveries and discuss their implications for the evolving Chinese perception on and the attraction toward the Buddhist world of India.

In an area about 30 miles from Pengcheng survives some of the earliest Buddhist imagery in China. Engraved on the boulders of Mount Kongwang, located to the southwest region of the modern coastal city of Lianyungang in Jiangsu province, are images of the Buddha in standing, seated, and *parinirvāṇa* postures (Fig. 1), representations of the *Jātaka* tales (the birth stories of the Buddha), foreign donor figures, other secular figures wearing foreign dress (usually identified as of Kuṣāṇa style), and the traditional Chinese motif of moon and a toad.[15] These images, which date from the late second century, seem to suggest the presence of foreign followers of Buddhism, either Scythian or Parthian merchants, in the region. In addition, the fact that they are interspersed with local, especially Daoist, motifs indicates the early amalgamation of Buddhist teachings with indigenous ideas.

The mixing of Buddhist ideas with native Chinese beliefs can also be discerned from the Han-period tombs excavated in Sichuan and Gansu provinces, and those found in the southern reaches of the Yangzi River. The relief of a seated Buddha found inside a cave-tomb at Ma Hao in Sichuan province, for example, has been studied extensively and judged to be one of the earliest Chinese Buddhist images.[16] Engraved on the rear lintel of the tomb, the relief of the Buddha is only 37 centimeters in height and dated to the late second to early

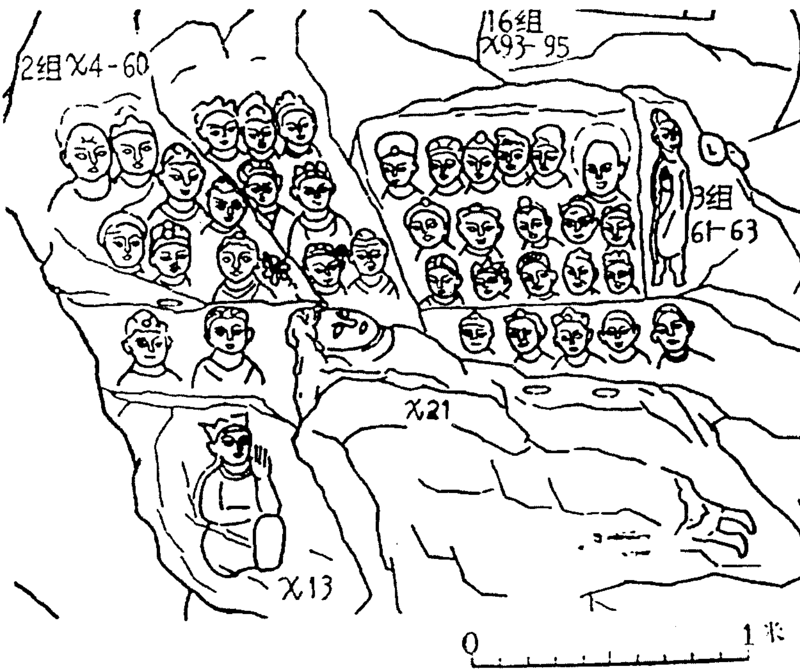


Figure 1. The Buddha in *Parinirvāṇa* Posture, Mount Kongwang

third century. Stylistically, as Marylin Rhie has noted, the image bears strong similarities to Mathurā figures dating from the Kuṣāṇa period. The structure of the cave-tomb, on the other hand, resembles Buddhist caves found in western Central Asia. It seems correct to conclude, as Rhie and others have recommended, that Buddhist influences in this region were transmitted through the Myanmar (or Burma) route that purportedly existed during the time of Zhang Qian.[17]

The Chinese Predicament with the Indic World

It is evident from the early evidence of Buddhism in China that Indic ideas entered through distinct trading channels (Central Asia, Myanmar, and also by the maritime route) and in diverse and assorted fragments. Wu Hung has forcefully argued that the Chinese initially perceived the Buddha as a foreign deity capable of granting immortality to the dead souls. The use of Buddhist images in the Han tombs, he explains, illustrates the Chinese belief in the Buddha as

an immortal being and a symbol of good omen in funerary decoration. Wu Hung contends that the early images of the Buddha found in China had little or no relevance to Buddhist teachings. Rather, in his view, they served to enrich "the representations of Chinese indigenous cults and traditional ideas" and, thus, are "evidence of not Buddhist but of early Taoist art."[18]

No matter what function these images served in the Han tombs, it is clear that the Chinese were initially drawn to the mortuary implications of Buddhism. In the subsequent period, elementary teachings of Buddhism, including that of suffering, *karma* (actions), retribution, and in particular the notion of continuous birth (*saṃsāra*), were transmitted to China through the narration of Buddhist *Jātaka* tales and *Avadānas* (stories of the Buddha's leading disciples and supporters). The proselytizing of these ideas by itinerant monks and the distribution of apocryphal Buddhist literature that incorporated folk ideas and local beliefs continued to have tremendous impact on the Chinese mortuary tradition.

Indeed, the years between the third and the fifth centuries were extremely crucial for the success of Buddhism in China. Increasing numbers of South and Central Asian monks arrived in China during this period, translation projects intended to render Buddhist teachings into Chinese were established, and Chinese pilgrims started visiting in India in search of Buddhist doctrines and relics. Buddhist teachings of continuous births determined by deeds and actions, the descriptions of torments in purgatory, and the propagation of various means to escape suffering, which were proselytized during these three centuries, exerted a profound impact on Chinese society. The amalgamation of Buddhist ideas with native Chinese views of filial piety and corporeal longevity not only made life after death a complex issue in China, it also captured the imagination of the Chinese people concerning the pains of postmortem punishments as well as the joys of paradise. The paintings of purgatory and paradise drawn on the walls of Buddhist caves, and the use of funerary tablets inscribed with Buddhist mantras are all visual testimonies to the transformation of the Chinese view of an afterlife that redounded from the adoption of Buddhist doctrines.[19]

Also captivating to Chinese audiences were the miraculous and magical feats associated with Indian monks, images, and other sacred objects that started entering China in increasing numbers from about the third century. Indian monks are reported to have exhibited their

thaumaturgical skills through such activities as rainmaking, healing, and the prognostication of fate. The powers of Indian monks were often represented in and propagated through hagiographic literature produced in China. Moreover, the image of Indian monks as wonder-workers seems to have been used to justify the political and social role of Buddhism, as well as asserting the supernatural strength of the foreign doctrine against the contemporary Daoist priests and local cults.[20]

Information about Indian culture, geography, and languages constantly trickled into China through the translation of Buddhist texts and in the diaries of Chinese monks making pilgrimages to India. Subsequently, India was portrayed to the Chinese public as a mystic land by Buddhist religious sermons and roadside storytelling. Thus, for the majority of Chinese laity, unable to visit India and judge the objectivity of apocryphal texts and religious sermons, the Buddhist world of India was no doubt mystifying. In the words of Erik Zürcher, India had become "a holy country—a center of spiritual authority outside China."[21] By the fifth and sixth centuries, when Buddhist doctrines and the mystical imagery of the Buddhist universe had percolated through every level of Chinese society, India found itself occupying a unique place in the Chinese world order: a foreign kingdom that was culturally and spiritually revered as equal to the Chinese civilization.

India's unique status in the Chinese world order can be discerned, for example, from Li Daoyuan's (d. 527) commentary to the third-century work *Shui jing* (The Water Classic). Based on the Chinese pilgrim Faxian's (337?–422?) notice on Middle India, Li Daoyuan writes:

> From here (i.e., Mathurā) to the south all [the country] is Madhyadeśa (Ch. Zhongguo). Its people are rich. The inhabitants of Madhyadeśa dress and eat like the Middle Kingdom (Ch. Zhongguo=China); therefore they are called Madhyadeśa.[22]

This statement in the context of Chinese discourse on foreign people, where eating habits and manner of clothing were usually associated with the sophistication of a non-Chinese culture, indicates that the information provided by Faxian contributed to the elevated Chinese perception of the Indian society.[23]

Generally, the reports of Chinese monks about Indian history, culture, and society were from the standpoint of pilgrims in their holy land

that tend to emphasize legends over factual details. One example of this trend is Xuanzang's (600?–664) description of King Aśoka's (c. 270–230 B.C.E.) life and deeds. As John Strong has pointed out, Xuanzang, when narrating the details of Aśokan inscriptions misreads, or is misinformed about, the actual text of the edicts and instead highlights the Indian king's contribution to the Buddhist community. Xuanzang, and Faxian before him, writes Strong, "familiar with the Chinese versions of the Aśokan story, conceived the king primarily as a supporter of the Buddhist *saṃgha* (monastic community) and as a great builder of the *stūpas* that marked the sites of their pilgrimage route. For them, the pillars were not edicts at all; they did not seek to proclaim a new royal Dharma but simply commemorated an event in the life of the Buddha or in the history of Buddhism and recorded what had happened at the spot."[24] Even the Chinese diplomat Wang Xuance, who visited India in the seventh century, in his diary, portrayed the Indic world in a manner that would have supported the Buddhist cause in China and enhanced the mystical perception of India among the Chinese.[25]

Indeed, the diaries of Chinese pilgrims not only reinforced a Utopian view of India among the Chinese clergy and laity, but also informed the Chinese rulers about the ideal relationship between the state and the monastic community. The impact of their narrative is apparent in the work of Daoxuan (596–667), one of the leading Chinese monks of the seventh century. Daoxuan passionately argued that India, and not China, should be considered the center of the world. He framed his conclusion with calculations of the distances between geographical determinants, the mountains and seas, and the two countries; and a comparison of the cultural sophistication achieved in India and China. At one point he praised the "divine" language and literature of India, which he noted were created by Brahmā and other gods, and criticized the Chinese writing system for having no legitimate origins and lacking a fixed alphabet.[26]

The portrayal of India as a civilized and sophisticated society was sometimes necessitated by the frequent criticisms leveled against Buddhism by the Daoist and Confucian rivals. The critics castigated that Buddhism, as a foreign doctrine, had no traditional roots in China and was therefore unfit for the Chinese people.[27] One common Confucian argument ran as follows:

> If the Way of the Buddha is so eminently respectable and great, why did not Emperors Yao and Shun, or the Duke of Chou

> (Zhou), or Confucius practice it? In the Seven Classics one sees no mention [of Buddhist teaching]. Since you dote over *[The Book of] Poetry* and *[The Book of] Documents*, and delight in *[The Record of] Rites* and *[The Classic of] Music*, how can you also be attracted by the Way of Buddha and be attached to heterodox practices? How can you pass over the exquisitely wise instructions of the classics and their commentaries? I wouldn't accept [Buddhist doctrines], if I were you![28]

The Chinese critics of Buddhism also contended that the Buddha established his teachings to control the unyielding, violent, greedy, and lustful nature of foreigners and not for the good-natured Chinese.[29] In other words, not only was Buddhism a foreign doctrine, it was meant only for the unruly and immoral people of India. To respond to such criticisms, the Chinese Buddhist clergy produced a vast array of apologetic literature that presented India and Indian society in a favorable light, and, at the same time, tried to trace the antiquity of Buddhism to pre-Confucius and pre-Laozi China. Daoxuan's portrayal of India was no doubt a part of such apologetic literature.

The Chinese clergy had a predicament of their own. They struggled, at the same time they were defending Buddhist doctrines against Confucian and Daoist critics, to find a place for themselves in the imaginary Indic continent known as *Jambudvīpa* (the Island of the Rose-Apple Tree). According to Brahmanical geography, at the center of the universe stood Mount Meru, which was surrounded by seven concentric continents. The central continent, which encircled Mount Meru, was called Jambudvīpa and was divided into nine (sometimes seven) regions separated by mountain ranges. The Buddhists followed a similar view of the cosmos (although according to them there were only four continents surrounding the Mount Meru). It was in Jambudvīpa where the Buddha was born, where ideal Buddhist kings (*cakravartin*) ruled and spread the teachings of the Buddha, and where final salvation could be achieved. In both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature, China was placed at the periphery of Jambudvīpa and the Chinese people were usually designated as *mleccha* (foreigners), a category which included the Central Asian Śaka and Hun tribes. In some Brahmanical texts, the Chinese were even relegated to the ranks of barbarians occupying land unfit for ceremonial purposes.[30]

The Chinese clergy themselves were cognizant of the fact they lived at the periphery of the imagined Indic continent. The geo-

graphical gap between China and the Buddhist pilgrimage sites in India and the fact that the Buddha lived in a distant past outside the Chinese realm made this realization even more agonizing. In fact, Antonino Forte suggests that a majority of Buddhist clergy in China suffered from a "borderland complex."[31] To illustrate the persisting and acute nature of this "borderland complex" among the Chinese Buddhist clergy, Forte points to a dialogue between Xuanzang and his Indian hosts at the Nālandā Monastery. The conversation, which also reflects the Indian perception of China, took place just after the Chinese pilgrim had decided to return to China:

> [The Indian monks said:] "India is the land of Buddha's birth, and though he has left the world, there are still many traces of him. What greater happiness could there be than to visit them in turn, to adore him, and chant his praises? Why then do you wish to leave, having come so far? Moreover, China is a country of *mlecchas*, of unimportant barbarians, who despise the religious and the Faith. That is why Buddha was not born there. The mind of the people is narrow, and their coarseness profound, hence neither saints nor sages go there. The climate is cold and the country rugged—you must think again."
>
> The Master of the Law (i.e., Xuanzang) replied, "Buddha established his doctrine so that it might be diffused to all lands. Who would wish to enjoy it alone, and to forget those who are not yet enlightened? Besides, in my country the magistrates are clothed with dignity, and the laws are everywhere respected. The emperor is virtuous and the subjects loyal, parents are loving and sons obedient, humanity and justice are highly esteemed, and old men and sages are held in honour. Moreover, how deep and mysterious is their knowledge; their wisdom equals that of spirits. They have taken the Heavens as their model, and they know how to calculate the movements of the Seven Luminaries; they have invented all kinds of instruments, fixed the seasons of the year, and discovered the hidden properties of the six tones and of music. This is why they have been able to tame or to drive away all wild animals, to subdue the demons and spirits to their will, and to calm the contrary influences of the Yin and the Yang, thus procuring peace and happiness for all beings. . . . How then can you say that Buddha did not go to my country because of its insignificance?"[32]

This dialogue is significant because it is, as Forte explains, "a perfect expression of a feeling of uneasiness and a state of dilemma which could only be solved by showing that China, too, was a sacred land of Buddhism, that is, by overcoming the 'borderland complex.'"[33] Confronted with the problem of a borderland complex, the Buddhist clergy in China made an earnest effort to transform China into a legitimate Buddhist center. The aim was to dispel the borderland complex by recreating a Buddhist world within China. Chapter 2 of the present study will demonstrate how, by the seventh and eighth centuries, the Chinese clergy seem to have successfully accomplished their goal.

Issues and Objectives

It is commonly accepted that Sino-Indian interactions peaked during the Tang period and declined rapidly thereafter. The pilgrimages of Chinese monks to India and the flourishing Buddhist doctrines and the translation activity of Indian monks in China during the seventh and eighth centuries are used to embellish the intensity of Sino-Indian relations during the Tang period. The ninth century, on the other hand, is propounded as a period of the decline of Buddhism in India and China. In the next two centuries, trade and commerce between the two countries is postulated to have also diminished.[34] This model of premodern Sino-Indian relations not only fails to do justice to the intricacies of exchanges between India and China during the Tang period, it also neglects the thriving state of Buddhism in eastern India in the ninth and tenth centuries and in China under the Song dynasty (960–1279). Nor does it explain the profusion of Sino-Indian exchanges in the eleventh and twelfth centuries or the explosion of trade between the two regions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The primary objective of the present study is to rectify this outdated model of premodern Sino-Indian relations.

Chapter 1 addresses the issue of the intricacy of Sino-Indian relations during the Tang period. By examining the diplomatic missions exchanged between the Indian kingdoms and the Tang court, it demonstrates that both Buddhist doctrines and contemporary military concerns played a significant role in dictating the nature of Sino-Indian exchanges. While in the seventh century court-to-court interactions between the two countries were centered on Buddhist and otherworldly activities, exchanges in the eighth century indicate

a shared concern for restraining the expansion of Tibetan forces into Central Asia. Thus, the chapter will argue that the exchanges between India and China during the Tang dynasty were multifaceted, complex, and both spiritual and worldly in nature.

The question of a borderland complex and the Chinese response to it during the Tang dynasty is explored in Chapter 2. The Chinese clergy, as the chapter will demonstrate, employed various Buddhist paraphernalia and manipulated Buddhist texts and prophecies in order to transform China into a legitimate part of the Buddhist world. The focus of this chapter will be on the veneration of the remains of the Buddha, the unveiling of Mount Wutai as the abode of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and Empress Wu's (r. 690–705) attempt to portray herself as a righteous ruler of the Buddhist realm. The discussion of these issues will demonstrate that the intense Sino-Indian exchanges during the Tang period were accompanied by the transformation of China into a sacred Buddhist land. Consequently, Buddhist clergy from neighboring kingdoms and from the leading monasteries in India frequented China either in search of doctrines or to make pilgrimages at sacred Buddhist sites. While the recognition of China as a legitimate Buddhist center abated the borderland complex among the Chinese clergy, it also prompted the growth of indigenous schools and practices, thereby diminishing the need for spiritual input from India. Thus, the second chapter will argue that the Tang period must not only be perceived for the apparent intensity in Sino-Indian exchanges, but should also be recognized as a period when China's spiritual attraction toward India began to unravel.

Chapter 3 will refute the notion of the decline of Buddhism in India and China and its presumed impact on Sino-Indian exchanges after the Tang period. It will provide empirical evidence demonstrating the endurance of Buddhist doctrines in India and China and the continued interactions between the monastic communities of the two regions. In fact, the data from the Song period suggests that the count of Buddhist monks travelling between India and China in the tenth and eleventh centuries may have even surpassed the exchanges during the Tang period. Similarly, Indian texts translated under the Song dynasty outnumbered those completed under the preceding dynasties. The most pertinent issue of Sino-Indian interactions during the Song period, it will be argued, was not the decay of Buddhism or the collapse of Buddhist exchanges between the two regions.

Rather, the failure of new Buddhist doctrines from India to have any discernable impact on Chinese clergy despite the unprecedented exchanges and volume of translation seems to be more poignant. By examining the patterns, problems, and inefficacy of Buddhist translations in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the third chapter will suggest that the shift in the doctrinal interest of the Chinese clergy toward indigenous practices and schools rendered new teachings from India obsolete. As a result, it will be proposed that the process of transmission of cultural elements from India to China through the translation and dissemination of Buddhist texts diminished.

Since bilateral trade was considered to be one of the important segments of Sino-Indian relations intimately linked to Buddhism, Chapters 4 and 5 explore the impact of the diminished role of Buddhism on the pattern of commercial ties between India and China. By illustrating the changing makeup of traders involved in Sino-Indian trade, the shifts in trade routes, the growing prevalence of nonreligious and bulk goods, and the increased emphasis on commercial profit in bilateral interactions, the two chapters will argue that Sino-Indian commercial exchanges took on a trajectory of their own. Chapter 4 will explain the internal changes in China and India and the establishment of Islamic commercial networks that prompted the expansion of bilateral trade, stimulated the development of maritime trade, and transformed the nature of commodities traded between the two regions. Chapter 5, on the other hand, will demonstrate how Sino-Indian trading relations between the seventh and thirteenth centuries were gradually restructured from Buddhist-dominated exchanges to a large-scale and market-centered interaction. Thus, in the fourteenth century, when Buddhist doctrines had ceased to play any role, mercantile concerns emerged as the most important stimulus to Sino-Indian exchanges. However, while trade-centered exchanges between India and China remained intensive through to the mid-fifteenth century, the spiritual bond that defined Sino-Indian relations in the first millennium had essentially dissipated. No longer was India the source for the sinified Buddhist schools and doctrines of Ming China. Nor did a predominately Brahmanical South India and the Islamic north retain potent Buddhist institutions that could attempt a resurrection of the past interactions.

CHAPTER ONE

Military Concerns and Spiritual Underpinnings of Tang-India Diplomacy

> The Arabs are the most powerful [force] in the Western Regions. From the Congling ("Onion Range" i.e., the Pamir Mountains) all the way to the western seas, their territory covers almost half the region under the heaven. They and the Indians feel admiration for China, and [both have] for generations regarded the Tibetans as their enemies. Therefore, I know that they can be recruited [to fight the Tibetans].
>
> —Tang Chief Minister Li Mi in 787

The epithet "Golden Age" is commonly used to describe the thriving religious and secular exchanges between India and China during the Tang period. However, as this and the following chapters will demonstrate, a string of political upheavals and socio-economic and intellectual changes within the two regions and in the surrounding areas prompted discernable shifts in the interactions between India and Tang China. In the seventh century, for example, religious, diplomatic, and commercial exchanges between the two countries were centered on the Gangetic region. During the eighth century, the focal point of Sino-Indian diplomatic relations shifted to the southern Hindukush area. And from the ninth century onward, the maritime exchanges between coastal India and China began to grow rapidly.

Changes are also evident in the role and position of Buddhism in the three centuries of Tang-India interactions. While the seventh century is epitomized by the pilgrimages of Chinese monks to India

and translation activities of Indian monks in China, the eighth century reveals an orchestrated use of Indic paraphernalia to establish a Buddhist realm in China. The ninth and tenth centuries, on the other hand, indicate the gradual, but potent, trend toward the eventual sinification of the Buddhist doctrine in China. Similarly, important variations can be discerned in the styles and motifs of Buddhist art transmitted from southern Asia to Tang China. While in the first half of the Tang period Buddhist art in China was intrinsically linked to the stylistic features originating in northern India, especially from the Swat valley and Kaśmīr, during the second half of the Tang period, Chinese Buddhist imagery indicates an increased interaction with Nepalese and South Indian art.[1]

Identifying some of the above shifts and changes are essential not only for exploring the contributions of Buddhism to Sino-Indian exchanges, but are necessary for comprehending the eventual realignment of the relations between the two countries. Because Sino-Indian interactions invariably affected the intermediary kingdoms in Central and Southeast Asia, an examination of these shifts and changes is also essential for deciphering the fundamental intricacies of cross-cultural relations among the premodern Asian states integrated through Buddhism. By focusing on the court-to-court exchanges between India and Tang China before the mid-eighth century, this chapter will explain the underlying military and spiritual factors stimulating Sino-Indian diplomatic relations. At the same time, it will attempt to demonstrate the multifaceted, and often multilateral, nature of the interactions between India and China during the Tang period.

The Establishment of Tang-Kanauj Diplomatic Ties

Between 619 and 753, the courts of India and China are reported to have exchanged more than fifty embassies. While many of these missions were triggered by commercial motives, some also involved political and military agendas. Indeed, the emergence of powerful military states in almost every region of Asia in the seventh century not only resulted in periodic territorial conflicts but also necessitated the formation of strategic military alliances. Occupying opposite sides of the extremely volatile regions of Central Asia and the Tibetan plateau, the Tang empire and Indian kingdoms explored various means to address potential threat from mutual adversaries, especially

the expansionist Tibetan and Arab forces. Yet the temporal dialogue between the courts of India and China was also nurtured by spiritual elements. The worldly and otherworldly needs of the Chinese Buddhist community that could only be satisfied in the birthplace of the Buddha were responsible for interjecting a spiritual factor into Sino-Indian diplomatic exchanges. In fact, the opening of diplomatic channels between the Tang court and the kingdom of Kanauj in northern India owes a great debt to the eminent Chinese monk Xuanzang and his desire to foster ties between the Chinese and Indian Buddhist communities.

Xuanzang is arguably the most renowned figure in the history of Sino-Indian relations. The historical diary on his travels to India in the seventh century, the authoritative translation work he carried out in China, and the fictionalized version of his pilgrimage presented in the sixteenth-century work *Journey to the West* have made Xuanzang a celebrated person throughout the world. Less appreciated, however, is his role in facilitating diplomatic ties between the Tang court and the kingdom of Kanauj. This and later sections of this chapter will illustrate the eminent monk's contributions to Sino-Indian diplomatic exchanges by placing him in the temporal realms of India and China.

In 627, though still relatively unknown in China, Xuanzang set out on his pilgrimage to India without formal authorization from the Tang court. With the aim of avoiding legal repercussions on his return, the Chinese monk seems to have made meetings with temporal rulers an essential part of the pilgrimage. During his nineteen-year journey, Xuanzang was granted audience by many important kings who ruled in Central and South Asia. His record of the pilgrimage, the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (Records of the Western Regions [visited during] the Great Tang [Dynasty]),[2] describes these meetings as proof of the keen interest the temporal leaders had in him and his spiritual journey.[3] It is possible, however, that Xuanzang initiated the meetings on his own. He may have thought that the temporal support he received from the foreign rulers would make his travels in India and his ultimate return to China, unlike his departure, free of bureaucratic intrusions. Alternatively, perhaps, he wanted Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649), the principal audience of his work, to appreciate the personal and intimate contacts he had had with the powerful rulers of foreign lands. In any case, Xuanzang was instrumental in turning Taizong's attention toward Buddhism and South Asia. In India, he had already succeeded in convincing King

Harṣa (r. 606–647; also known as Śīlāditya, Ch. Shiluoyiduo) to open diplomatic channels with China.

Xuanzang's arrival in India in the early 630s coincided with the establishment of a vast empire in northern India by Harṣa. The Indian king's empire, with its capital at Kanauj, extended from northwestern Bengal in the east to the river Beas in Punjab in the west. Harṣa had, for the first time since the collapse of the Gupta empire in the fourth century, brought peace and prosperity to the region; and both Brahmanism and Buddhism are said to have flourished under his reign.[4] In 637–638 (or 640),[5] when the Chinese pilgrim had his first audience with the Indian king, Harṣa was at the height of his rule.

In reference to the Indian king's knowledge about the Tang empire and its current ruler, Xuanzang records the following dialogue he had with Harṣa at their initial meeting:

> [Harṣa said,] "In Mahācīna, I have heard, there is a Prince of Qin. When young he was clever and when he grew up he was a divine warrior. The past dynasty had left the country in disarray and calamity. Armies fought each other and people suffered. The Prince of Qin, as the Son of Heaven harbored profound plans when he was young, came to rescue the sentient beings out of great compassion and love. After pacifying the areas within the seas (i.e., China), his moral instructions spread afar and widely, while his virtuous grace was far-reaching. Nations from different directions and regions, in admiration for his transformation, came to succumb to his sovereignty. His people, out of their gratitude toward [his effort to] rear and protect them, all chanted 'the Song of Prince Qin Destroying [the Enemies]' battle-arrays. It has been long since we here have heard this elegant song. There are indeed [genuine] reasons for [the people] to praise his outstanding virtues! Isn't the Great Tang the country [ruled] by this [prince]?"
>
> "It is," said Xuanzang in reply and explained that, "Cīna was how the kingdom was called during a previous king. The Great Tang is now the name of my master's kingdom. Before accession, he was called the Prince of Qin. Now that he has mounted [the throne], he is proclaimed as the Son of Heaven. When the fortune of the previous dynasty had come to an end, people were without a leader. Chaos and warfare brought mis-

> ery and harm to the common people. The Prince of Qin, with his talents endowed and gloried by the Heaven and his compassion and love [out-bursting] from his heart, fanned up the wind of power and destroyed all the evil enemies. As peace prevailed over the eight quarters, thousands of [foreign] kingdoms came to pay tribute to the court. [The Son of Heaven] loves and tends to creatures of the four kinds of birth, and respects [the teachings of] the Three Jewels (i.e., Buddhism). He has reduced taxes and mitigated punishments. The country has surplus revenue and nobody attempts to violate the laws. As to his moral influence and his profound edification of the people, it is exhausting to narrate in any detail."
>
> Harṣa said: "Excellent! The people of your land must have performed good deeds in order to have such a saintly lord."[6]

It may be noted here that the Chinese pilgrim left China less than a year after Taizong, the Chinese emperor Harṣa and Xuanzang are referring to in the above dialogue, had ascended to the Tang throne. The fact that Taizong's success had come at the expense of a bloody struggle among the heirs and the forced retirement of his father, Emperor Gaozu (r. 618–626), must have been fresh in Xuanzang's mind when he met Harṣa. In 646, however, when he was completing the narration of his pilgrimage and the above meeting with the Indian king, Xuanzang, as will be demonstrated later, was on very good terms with the Tang ruler. It is, therefore, conceivable that the praises that Harṣa seems to have showered upon Emperor Taizong were added by Xuanzang in his diary merely to gratify the imperial audience.

All we can conclude from Xuanzang's meeting and dialogue with Harṣa is that the Chinese monk played some role in convincing the Indian king to explore diplomatic ties with Tang China. In fact, when recording the arrival of the first embassy from Kanauj at the Tang court in 641, Chinese scribes give full credit to Xuanzang for opening the diplomatic channels between the two courts.[7] Although Harṣa had been the king of Kanauj for decades before his embassy reached China, the *Xin Tang shu* (New History of the Tang [Dynasty]) notes that the embassy from Middle India brought a letter that informed the Chinese court about Harṣa's "recent proclamation to the throne of Magadha."[8] Rather than a gesture of prostration, as the Chinese records would have us believe about any correspondence

from foreign rulers, the letter from Harṣa to the Chinese emperor may have just been an introductory communication. Pointing to the fact that Harṣa was already at the height of his power when he dispatched the mission to China, D. Devahuti writes, "politically ambitious, intellectually vigorous, and confident in an over-all atmosphere of activity and well-being for which he himself was mainly responsible, Harsha may be expected to have opened relations with China for reasons that flow from such conditions."[9] Devahuti rightly proposes that Buddhism may have provided extra impetus to the opening of diplomatic contacts between the two countries.[10]

In response, the Chinese court sent Liang Huaijing, a mid-level official, probably from the *Honglu si* (Court of State Ceremonial), to escort Harṣa's envoy back to India. Liang held the title of *Yunqi wei* (Commandant of Fleet-as-clouds Cavalry),[11] a merit title for military officials. The title may not necessarily mean that the Chinese embassy was on a military mission. The Court of State Ceremonial, the office in charge of diplomatic affairs, was often headed by and employed officials with military background.[12] As part of their responsibilities, the officials at the Court of State Ceremonial were to make inquiries and gather information about foreign countries, and visit "foreign lands to cultivate good relations."[13] According to Feng Chengjun, one of the leading historians of premodern Sino foreign relations, Liang may have been part of the Chinese delegation that escorted the Tang Princess Wencheng to Tibet. Liang's trip to India, Feng contends, was only a supplement to his main mission.[14]

When Liang Huaijing arrived in Kanauj, as the *Xin Tang shu* reports,

> Harṣa asked the people of his country: "Have any envoys from Mahācīna come to my country in the past?" They all answered, "No." (Among the Barbarians, the Middle Kingdom is called Mahācīna.)[15] [The king, then,] came out [of the palace]. Prostrating himself, he received the imperial letter and placed it on his head. He again sent an envoy [with Liang Huaijing] to the Chinese court.[16]

The sinocentric worldview of the above account notwithstanding, court-to-court ties between Kanauj and China were now formally established. What followed was almost two decades of frequent exchange of embassies between Tang China and Middle India.

Table 1. Diplomatic missions exchanged between Kanauj and Tang China

Year	*Place of Origin*	*Leading Member(s) of the Mission*	*Objective*
641	Kanauj	Unknown	Establish diplomatic ties
641	Chang'an	Liang Huaijing	Respond to the mission from Kanauj. May have also explored the possibility of a millitary alliance
641	Kanauj	Unknown (Tang capital)	Offer tribute to the Chinese court. May have been a commercial mission
642	Kanauj	Joint mission with monks from the Mahābodhi Monastery	Present Buddhist texts and other artifacts
643	Chang'an	Li Yibiao and Wang Xuance	Pilgrimage to Buddhist sites and obtain the technology of making sugar
648	Chang'an	Wang Xuance	Bring Indian physician proficient in concocting life-prolonging drugs
658	Chang'an	Wang Xuance	Present a monastic robe to the Mahābodhi Monastery on behalf of Emperor Gaozong

Since the Chinese court rarely, perhaps because of the lack of strategic interest in much of the South Asian region,[17] responded to Indian embassies with one of their own, it is possible that the changing geopolitical situation in the Tibetan plateau had some role in prompting the official Tang mission to Kanauj. For the first time during the first millennium, a powerful ruler had emerged in Tibet. King Srong-brtsan sgam-po (r. 614–650) had not only successfully overwhelmed the Tanguts and Bolan tribes around the Tibetan plateau and made punitive raids on Chinese border towns,[18] he had also subjugated the kingdom of Nepal.[19] Although there is little evidence to indicate that the Tibetan king attempted to invade or raid Harṣa's territories adjoining Nepal,[20] and even if peaceful relations were established between China and Tibet by the end of 640, both Harṣa and Emperor Taizong may have had some reservations about Srong-brtsan sgam-po abandoning his expansionist policies. It is possible that such reservations motivated Emperor Taizong to promptly respond to Harṣa's mission.

If keeping the Tibetans in check was indeed one of the primary objectives of the Tang-Kanauj diplomatic ties, then the two courts no doubt accomplished their goal. No hostilities, either between the Chinese and the Tibetans or among the Tibetans and Indians, is reported until after the death of Harṣa in 647 and the subsequent collapse of his kingdom. In fact, the period between the arrival of the first embassy from Kanauj to China in 641 and 658, when the last known Tang embassy toured the vicinity of Harṣa's capital, the India-Tibet-China region and the route linking India to China through Tibet and Nepal witnessed brisk political, religious, and one may presume, commercial interactions. The efficacy of the friendly relations established between Kanauj, Tibet, and China is perhaps best illustrated in an episode connected to the third Tang mission, led by the Chinese envoy Wang Xuance, who had the title of *You Weishuaifu* (Right Defense Guard Commandant), who arrived in Kanauj shortly after the death of King Harṣa.

Indian sources fail to tell us definitely when and how Harṣa died. Nor is the role of the Indian King Aluonashun (Aruṇāśa?), described in Tang sources as the usurper of Harṣa's throne, in the destruction of Kanauj mentioned in any available Indian records.[21] Indeed, the only clues about the two events, as the section on the death of Harṣa in Devahuti's study illustrates, come from Chinese material.[22] In the fourth lunar month of the twenty-second year of the Zhenguan

period (April-May 648), the Chinese sources inform us, soldiers led by Aruṇāśa attacked Wang Xuance and his entourage. Most of the members of the Chinese embassy were either killed or captured by the Indian attacker. Only Wang Xuance and his second-in-command Jiang Shiren escaped. After they arrived in Tibet, the two members of the Chinese embassy assembled a regiment of twelve hundred mercenaries and more than seven hundred Napali cavalry. The Xuance-led army then launched an attack on Aruṇāśa. "In three days of continuous fighting," reports the *Jiu Tang shu* (The Old History of the Tang [Dynasty]), the troops led by Wang Xuance "completely overpowered the barbarians. More than three thousand people were beheaded, and those who jumped into the water and died by drowning numbered more than ten thousand. Aruṇāśa abandoned the city and fled, [but] Shiren pursued and captured him. The men and women who were taken captive numbered two thousand, and the cows and horses seized were more than thirty thousand. India trembled at these [events]. [Wang Xuance] returned [to China] taking Aruṇāśa as a captive."[23] For his success in the battle, Wang Xuance was bestowed the prestigious title of the Grand Master for Closing Court.

Although it can be discerned that Harṣa died sometime between 646, when a second Tang embassy had departed from Kanauj, and early 648, when the third Chinese mission arrived in Middle India, a number of important issues have remained inconclusive.[24] Who was Aruṇāśa? Did he really usurp Harṣa's throne? And finally, what provoked Aruṇāśa to attack the Tang embassy? Given the exaggerated Chinese accounts on the episode and the absence of Indian records, we can only guess what events may actually have transpired.

Most Chinese sources on the battle between Wang Xuance and Aruṇāśa record that the Indian attacker was the ruler of a kingdom called Dinafudi, which some modern scholars have deciphered as a transcription of Tīrabhukti, a feudatory kingdom of Harṣa in present-day northern Bihar. The site of the battle is reported as Chabuheluo (Champāran?) on the banks of river Qiantuowei (Gaṇḍakī?).[25] Although the clash between the Chinese-led troops and the Indian ruler may have been a historical fact, the Chinese scribes probably fabricated Aruṇāśa's role as a usurper. Had such a noteworthy uprising taken place in Kanauj, it should have found its way into the twelfth-century north Indian work *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[26] Rather, it is likely that Harṣa died a natural death. Instead of *the* usurper, Aruṇāśa

could have been one of the many feudatories who sought to benefit from the chaos that followed the sudden death of Harṣa, who, it seems, was without issue. Aruṇāśa may have attacked the Chinese embassy, which was most likely dispatched before the Chinese came to know of Harṣa's death, either because he thought the mission was on its way to reinforce the existing regime in Kanauj, or perhaps he wanted to rob the entourage of the precious gifts it may have been carrying.[27]

Wang Xuance's victory not only made him a hero in China, but the whole episode was depicted by the Tang scribes as an appropriate punishment for someone who had ambushed the peaceful Chinese delegation and deposed a just Indian ruler. The fabrication of Aruṇāśa as an usurper by the Chinese scribes may have been an attempt to represent the Tang as a righteous and paramount empire. Similarities, in fact, can be found between the portrayal of this episode and, as is noted below, Emperor Taizong's rationale to dispose Yŏn Kaesomun, a powerful official of the Korean kingdom Koguryŏ.

It is also worthwhile here to point out briefly the role of Nepal in the above encounter. The *Jiu Tang shu* records that the king of Nepal was "delighted" to meet the Chinese ambassador Li Yibiao, the lead envoy of the second Tang mission to Kanauj, on his way to India in 643. "Later," the work notes, "[when] Wang Xuance was attacked by India, Nepal contributed by dispatching cavalry to join the Tibetan [mercenaries] and sack India."[28] It may be noted that when the Chinese envoy had an audience with the Nepali king, the kingdom was already subjugated by the Tibetan ruler Srong-brtsan sgam-po.[29] Moreover, before he received the Chinese Princess Wencheng through a marriage alliance in 641, Srong-brtsan sgam-po had already in 633 obtained a Nepalese princess through similar method.[30] This Chinese-Tibetan-Nepali nexus, thus, might explain Wang Xuance's success in gathering military support from Tibet and Nepal in a short time.[31]

If other rulers in South Asia were for some reason unaware of the existence of the powerful Tang Empire, then Wang Xuance's comprehensive victory against Aruṇāśa may have drawn their attention to China. Indeed, the joint military maneuvering in the region led by Wang Xuance seems to have had at least two very distinct outcomes. First, the military power of the Tang empire, displayed within Indian borders, may have instigated Indian kingdoms, some as far as in southern India, to explore military ties with China. Second, sensing a political vacuum in eastern India after the death of King Harṣa,

the Tibetan forces, a few decades later, started venturing into the region originally controlled by Harṣa.

The Tang Court and Kaśmīr in the Eighth Century

The cordial relations between Tibet and China lasted for more than a decade after the successive deaths of Harṣa (most likely in 647), Emperor Taizong (in 649), and Srong-brtsan sgam-po (in 650). An inscription erected by Wang Xuance and his entourage near the Nepal-Tibetan border in 658 indicates that peaceful Sino-Tibetan relations had continued to facilitate the interaction between India and China through Tibet.[32] In addition, the Chinese monk Yijing (635–713), who visited India between 673 and 687, reveals that Buddhist monks frequently used the shorter route through Tibet to travel to India in the sixth and seventh decades of the seventh century.[33] However, the hostilities between China and Tibet, which resurfaced in the late 660s, the Sino-Tibetan war that followed in 670, and the Tibetan incursions into the Gangetic basin of India in the last quarter of the seventh century,[34] reduced the traffic between India and China through the Tibetan route. By the late seventh or early eighth century, as Yijing suggests, the Tibetans seem to have completely blocked the road that passed through their territory linking India and China.[35]

The revived tensions between China and Tibet, in addition to the chaotic situation in central and eastern India that ensued due to the death of Harṣa, instigated the Tang court to develop its existing relations with the Turkic and Indian kingdoms occupying the southern Hindukush region. In addition, the reigning Tang Emperor Xuanzong's (r. 712–756) limited interest in Buddhist doctrines may have been responsible for the termination of the court-sponsored missions to Middle India.[36] A more important reason for this shift, however, seems to be the Tang court's concern about the strategic passage from Tibet through Xiao Bolü (Little Palūr/Bolōr, Tib. Bru-ža, in present-day Gilgit valley) to the Pamir-Karakorum area.[37] Tibetan forces had to pass through Little Palūr, ruled by the Buddhist Paṭola Śāhīs,[38] in order to advance into western Central Asia, something Tibet had been trying to accomplish since the early seventh century.

Before proceeding with an examination of the exchanges between the Tang court and the southern Hindukush region, it must be pointed out that embassies from other parts of India had

continued to visit the Chinese capital during the post-Harṣa period. The purpose of some of these missions, it seems, was related to the intrusion of Tibetan and Arab forces into South Asia. Deserving special mention are the Indian embassies that arrived at the Chinese capital in 693 and 720.

In the third month of the third year of the Tianshou era (693), a few years after Empress Wu had assumed the title of "Holy and Divine Emperor" and formally established the Zhou dynasty (690–705), Kings Moluofamo (Māravarman?) from East India, Shiluoyiduo (Śīlāditya?) from West India, Zheluoqibaluopo (Chālukya) from South India, Louqinana (Lokeṣna?) from North India, and Dipoxina (Devasena?) from Middle India sent tribute missions to the Chinese court.[39] It is interesting to note that a number of Chinese sources use the word *binglai* (lit. "together arrived") rather than the usual verb-noun combination *qianshi* ("sent envoy[s]") to describe the arrival of these missions,[40] suggesting that the four Indian kings came in person to the Chinese court. If, in fact, the Indian kings made a special trip to China, then their motive is difficult to ascertain from present sources. One can only speculate that the Indian mission was related to either the Tang plan to mount an attack on the Tibetans,[41] or linked to Empress Wu's scheme to legitimize her usurpation of the Tang throne through Buddhist/Indic allusions (as is discussed in the next chapter).[42]

The Indian mission of 720, on the other hand, specifically mentions the threat from the Tibetans and Arabs as the reason for seeking help from the Tang court. The envoy from the South Indian King Shilinaluolu(seng?)jiamo (Śri Nārāyansiṃha?) sought permission from Emperor Xuanzong to attack the Arabs and Tibetans with the war elephants and horses the Indian king possessed and asked the emperor to pick a title for his army. Pleased with the Indian king's offer to form a coalition against the Arabs and Tibetans, the Chinese emperor bestowed the title of "Huaide jun" ("the Army that Cherishes Virtue") to Śri Nārāyansiṃha's troops.[43] The South Indian king sent two more envoys in the same year, one seeking an epithet for a (Buddhist?) monastery, and another acknowledging the title of "king" that the Chinese emperor had bestowed on him.[44]

The above South Indian king, as has been pointed out by Luciano Petech, can be identified as Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha (r. 700–728) of the Pallava dynasty.[45] Since Rājasiṃha's reign is marked by peace, prosperity, and flourishing maritime trade,[46] Petech

is perhaps right to observe that the Indian king's "quite gratuitous offer of help, which could not possibly materialize for obvious geographic reasons, was evidently prompted by reasons of prestige and/or maritime trade."[47] However, it must be pointed out that by 711 Arab troops led by Muhammad al-Qasim had successfully invaded the Sind region in northwestern India.[48] Although the Arab expansion into South Asia lost impetus in 715 due to political problems within the Umayyad Empire (661–750), occasional Arab raids in the Rajasthan-Gujarat area are known to have troubled the South Indian kingdoms in the Deccan region.[49] Similarly, the continued foray of Tibetan forces into the Bengal-Bihar region may also have been a cause of grave concern to kingdoms in southern India. Thus, while trade and prestige definitely played an important role in Rājasiṃha's embassies to the Tang court, the presence of a political agenda in these South Indian missions should not be completely ruled out.

The diplomatic exchanges between kingdoms in the southern Hindukush region and China, through the Central Asian routes, are clearly more militarily motivated than either the Tang-Kanauj overture in the seventh century or the missions from King Rājasiṃha. In fact, by the time hostilities between the Tibetans and the Tang court resumed in the late 660s, the Chinese court was already in diplomatic contact with at least three important kingdoms in the southern Hindukush area (Map 1), Jibin (Kāpiśa, around the present-day Kabul region), Xieyou (Zābulistān, present-day Ghazni region), and Gushimi/Jiashimiluo (Kaśmīr, around the present-day Srinagar area).

By the 630s the control of the Kabul-Ghazni area, as is evidenced by Xuanzang's report and numismatic findings,[50] had shifted from the Hephthalite ruler Narendra II to Hexiezhi, a person of Turkic origin.[51] Similarly, in the early seventh century, a transition had taken place in Kaśmīr. King Bālāditya of the Gonanda dynasty had vacated his throne in favor of his son-in-law Durlabhavardhana (c.626–c.662), who subsequently founded a new dynasty called Kārkoṭa.[52]

The kingdom of Kāpiśa, under its Turkic rulers, was one of the most important Tang allies in the region that exchanged regular diplomatic missions with the Chinese court.[53] In 658, the Tang court attempted to bring the southern Hindukush kingdom within the folds of its frontier policy by designating Begram (Ch. Kehe), the capital of Kāpiśa, as the *Xiuxian dudufu* (Sudarcana Area Command). Three years later, in the first year of the Longshuo era (661), a decree from the Tang court announced that the king of Kāpiśa was given the title



Map 1. The Southern Hindukush Region

Junshi (Military Supervisor) of "eleven prefectures" and appointed as the *Dudu* (Commander-in-Chief) of the Sudarcana Area Command.[54]

This action of the Tang court was clearly connected to its plan to categorize neighboring states into administrative units known as *jimi fuzhou* ("loose-reign prefecture"). Under this system, the origin of which can be dated to the Han period, the allegedly submitted non-Chinese states and tribes and foreign kingdoms distant from the Chinese borders were categorized under specific area commands. Although the word *jimi* ([control by] loose rein) implied that the Tang court had very little control or say in the internal matters of these states, the system served at least two important goals of Chinese foreign policy. First, it stimulated the tributary relations between the Chinese court and foreign states. Secondly, it facilitated the formation of military alliances between the Chinese court and these area commands against common adversaries.[55]

The tributary aspect of the *jimi* system ranged from the payment of annual taxes to occasional tribute missions depending upon whether or not the non-Chinese state had actually submitted to the Tang court. Pan Yihong, for example, points out that the Uighur and Tiele tribes, after they submitted to the Chinese in 647, paid an annual tax in the form of marten pelts. Countries in the Western Region under the Protectorate of Anxi, on the other hand, offered tribute of exotic and native products.[56] In addition, the *Tang hui yao* (Important Documents of the Tang [Period]) reports that the area commands were responsible for registering and limiting the foreign envoys coming from territories assigned to them, inspecting the items brought as tribute, and arranging the order in which the tribute missions were to have audience with the Chinese emperor.[57] This is not to say, however, that the commercial aspect of tributary missions was in any way curtailed or hindered due to the administration of foreign embassies by the area commands. Rather, the area commands ensured the legitimacy of foreign embassies and discouraged foreign envoys from engaging in private commercial activities.[58]

As for the military aspect of the *jimi* system, Pan Yihong points out that between 634 and 669, the submitted Eastern Türks and the Tiele had, in accordance with the system, allied with the Tang against the Tuyuhun, Gaochang, Kucha, and other Central Asian states. "During Taizong's and Gaozong's reigns," Pan writes, "the nomadic

area commands not only played an active role in Tang campaigns, but also formed an important defense line, acting both as sentries and as buffer areas within the Tang frontier system. The oasis states in the Western Regions were also expected to participate in Tang battles or to provide provisions for Tang military expeditions."[59]

While Kāpiśa was given the status of an area command, the rest of South Asia (Shendu), including perhaps Kaśmīr, was designated as one of the twenty-five prefectures (*zhou*) under the Yuezhi Area Command.[60] These designations, however, do not imply that the South Asian states were either subjugated or vassalage of Tang China. Rather, the designation of area command given to Kāpiśa indicates that the Tang court perceived the kingdom as a powerful and, thus, strategically more important region than the rest of South Asia. With the increasing military strength of the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the eighth century, Kaśmīr, too, seems to have become an important ally of the Chinese. This fact is reflected not only in the diplomatic missions from Kaśmīr and the neighboring kingdoms to the Tang court, but also in the assistance the north Indian kingdom provided to the Chinese troops trying to stop the Tibetan forces from marching into the Pamir mountains through Little Palūr.

According to the *Xin Tang shu*, Kaśmīr had sent an envoy to China in the beginning of the Kaiyuan era (713–741). Later, in the eighth year of the same reign era (720), the Tang court dispatched an envoy to Kaśmīr in order to bestow the title of "King of Kaśmīr" on Zhentuoluobili (Candrāpīḍa, r. 712/3–720).[61] This diplomatic exchange between Kaśmīr and the Tang court took place at a very critical period. While the Kaśmīri mission coincided with the expansion of Arab forces into the Sind region, the Chinese embassy was sent at a time when the Tibetan and Tang forces were about to clash along the Pamirs.[62] Two years later, in the ninth month of the tenth year of the Kaiyuan reign period (October 722), soon after the Tang army successfully defeated the Tibetan forces and entered Little Palūr, Kaśmīr was credited by the Chinese court for providing agricultural supplies essential to sustain the Chinese troops stationed in the Gilgit valley.[63] The fact that some sort of military alliance was forged between the Tang court and Kaśmīr prior to the Chinese offensive in 722 can be discerned from the Chinese Princess Jincheng's desire, as discussed below, to defect from Tibet and seek asylum in Kaśmīr.

As a part of a peace treaty signed between the Tang court and the Tibetans in 707, Princess Jincheng was given in marriage to the

Tibetan King Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (r. 704–754).[64] The treaty was finalized in 710 and the princess arrived at the Tibetan capital in the second lunar month (March-April) of that year.[65] In the tenth lunar month of the twelfth year of the Kaiyuan era (October-November 724), however, Tegin Zibil (Ch. Teqin), the king of Zābulistān, sent an envoy to the Tang Emperor Xuanzong who revealed the princess' desire to defect to Kaśmīr. The envoy reported:

> Zābulistān is one thousand five hundred tricents from the kingdom of Kaśmīr. [And] from Kaśmīr to Tibet, which is where Princess Jincheng resides, it is seven days by road. In the fifth lunar month of the previous year (June-July 723), Princess Jincheng sent two Chinese envoys through a secret route to the kingdom of Kaśmīr to convey [her] message saying, "You have genuine inclinations toward China. I wish to leave [Tibet] and surrender to you. Are you willing to accept me?" The Kaśmīri king, hearing her message, was extremely gratified. He reported [in response] saying, "Princess, you have to merely come here and we will do our utmost to attend [to your needs]." At the same time, the Kaśmīri king sent an envoy to report to the king of my kingdom (i.e., Zābulistān) saying, "The daughter of the Son of Heaven wants to escape [from Tibet] and surrender to my kingdom. I fear that Tibetan troops and cavalry will certainly come in pursuit. [Since] I am not powerful [enough] to oppose [them], [I would like to] request [your] troops to join mine and hopefully [we can] destroy and disperse the Tibetans and rescue the Princess." The king of my kingdom, hearing the Kaśmīri king's plans, was very pleased. He sent an envoy acknowledging the Kaśmīri king['s request]. The king [of Zābulistān] has [now] sent me to [the Chinese] court to seek [Your] consent.

Emperor Xuanzong is noted to have consented to the request and presented a reward of about hundred bolts of silk to the envoy from Zābulistān.[66]

The Kaśmīri king mentioned in the envoy's report was probably Tārāpīḍa Udayāditya (r. 720–724), recorded as Tianmu in the *Xin Tang shu*,[67] and not Candrāpīḍa as proposed by Christopher Beckwith and Moriyasu Takao.[68] It is possible that the diplomatic overtures of Candrāpīḍa toward the Tang court and the assistance Tārāpīḍa provided to the Chinese troops in the Gilgit region in 722

prompted the princess to seek asylum in Kaśmīr.[69] The princess' plan to defect to Kaśmīr never materialized, it seems, due to the death of Tārāpīḍa shortly after he had received the secret communication.[70] But a decade later, after Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (Ch. Muduobi) had ascended to the throne, a Kaśmīri envoy to the Tang court reaffirmed the kingdom's support for Chinese military activities in the Hindukush-Pamir region. The Kaśmīri envoy, which reached the Chinese capital in the third lunar month of the twenty-first year of the Kaiyuan era (March-April 733),[71] presented a letter from Lalitāditya to the Chinese emperor stating,

> After having [established this] kingdom, [I have] submitted to the Heavenly Qaghan along [with other vassals] and received [orders] to position and dispatch [my forces]. [My] kingdom has three kinds of troops, elephant[-mounted], cavalry, and foot soldiers. The Tibetans on the five great routes distressed this vassal and the king of Middle India. [The Tibetans] blocked [us from] entering and exiting [through these routes]. [Therefore, we] fought and at once [emerged] victorious.[72] Now, if the Heavenly Qaghan's army arrives at Palūr, even if it [numbers] two hundred thousand, [I] can assist with the supply of provisions. In [my] kingdom, there is a dragon pond [called] Mahāpadma (present-day Vular Lake). I am willing to let the [troops] of the Heavenly Qaghan encamp there.[73]

Elated by Lalitāditya's offer of support, the Chinese emperor praised the Kaśmīri king and bestowed the title of "King" on him.[74] At the same time, perhaps encouraged by Lalitāditya's willingness to assist Chinese military action in the Gilgit region, Tang forces launched a series of offensive raids on the Tibetans aimed at recapturing Little Palūr that, in 737, had capitulated to the Tibetans.[75] Moreover, in order to secure their position in the Gilgit valley, the Tibetans had given Princess Khri-ma-lod in marriage to Sushilizhi, the pro-Tibetan leader of Little Palūr.[76] In the spring of 747, after three failed attempts,[77] Tang troops under the command of Gao Xianzhi, a general of Korean origin, eventually succeeded in disposing the Tibetans and the pro-Tibetan ruler from Little Palūr.[78]

The fact that Kaśmīr played a significant role in the Tang court's attempts to recapture Little Palūr is revealed in a report presented to the Tang court by an envoy from Tokharistān. The Tokharian

envoy, who arrived in China in 749, explained that due to limited agricultural land and dense population in Little Palūr, the Chinese troops had to depend on supplies from Kaśmīr. The envoy also expressed a concern about the kingdom of Jieshi (Kashkar, present-day Chitral in northwestern Pakistan),[79] strategically located between Little Palūr and Kaśmīr, which was, with backing from the Tibetans, frequently encroaching upon the supply route. The Tokharian envoy requested that the Tang court send reinforcements to the area and, at the same time, recommended that the court renew its alliance with Kaśmīr because the Indian kingdom "respected the Chinese and had a large [number] of soldiers and cavalry."[80] The latter objective, he suggested, could be accomplished by presenting precious gifts to the Kaśmīri ruler. The requests of the envoy, according to Chinese sources, were granted.[81] Indeed, the *Zizhi tongjian* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government) and the *Cefu yuangui* (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature) record that in the second month of the ninth year of the Tianbao reign era (750), Chinese troops led by general Gao Xianzhi sacked Kashkar and captured its King Botemo. Within a month, the Tang court installed Suojia, the elder brother of Botemo, as the new king.[82]

It is likely that Kaśmīr in 747, in addition to providing provisions to the Chinese troops, may have also given military assistance to the Tang general Gao Xianzhi in his successful campaign in the Gilgit valley. As Karl Jettmar has pointed out, the key to the Chinese victory in 747 was the destruction of a strategic bridge over the Sai River (Ch. Suoyi, near the present-day Bunji region).[83] Jettmar suggests that the Chinese entered the Gilgit valley from the south and destroyed the bridge that the Tibetan army would have used to send reinforcements to Little Palūr. It is possible, however, that the bridge was destroyed from the south by Kaśmīri forces before the Chinese army entered the Gilgit valley. Similarly, in 750, Kaśmīri military may have given logistical support to the Chinese troops entering Kashkar. Thus, when Kalhaṇa, the twelfth-century Kaśmīri author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, notes of Lalitāditya attacking the Bhauṭṭas (Tibetans) and Darads (Dards) in the north, he may have been implying the victories achieved by the Kaśmīri troops in Little Palūr in 747 and Kashkar in 750.[84]

Although the above suggestion is largely speculative, it can nonetheless be argued with certainty that Kāpiśa, Kaśmīr, and Zābulistān, kingdoms located in the southern Hindukush region, and even those to the north of the Pamirs, as in the case of Tokharistān,

allied with the Tang court in opposing the Tibetans. The perceived strength of the Tang empire, which could be sought to check the expanding Tibetan and Arab forces, may have been a valid reason for these kingdoms to establish and sustain strategic military ties with the Chinese court. The presence of local allies in the Pamir-Hindukush region was similarly beneficial for the Tang court trying to restrict the Tibetans from gaining control of the Central Asian oasis states. Indeed, the two Chinese victories in Little Palūr demonstrate the efficacy of the diplomatic ties between the Tang court and the Indo-Turkic kingdoms south of the Hindukush ranges.

First the defeat of Tang forces against the Arabs on the Talas River in 751 and then the An Lushan rebellion of 756, however, led to the rapid decline of Tang influence in the Hindukush-Pamir region. While the loss at the Talas River resulted in the expansion of Arab power deeper into Central Asia, the outcome of Sogdian general An Lushan's revolt was so debilitating for the Tang dynasty that it never regained its previous military status. The post-An Lushan period not only saw the gradual fragmentation of the empire, but also the invasion of Tibetan forces into the Tang capital. With little need to devote its troops to the Chinese border, the Tibetan forces, by the early ninth century, also advanced into the Hindukush-Pamir region and seem to have played an important role in establishing the Pāla dynasty in eastern India in 750.[85] At the same time, the Arabs forces made significant inroads into South Asia. In 810, the kingdom of Kāpiśa, which had allied with Kaśmīri and Chinese rulers, capitulated to the Arabs. It was due to the disintegration of the Tang empire, the collapse of South Asian kingdoms, and instability in Central Asia that the diplomatic exchanges between South Asia and China, which had witnessed their most flourishing period between 640 to 750, came to a virtual halt after the An Lushan rebellion. Although, as the epigraph to this chapter indicates,[86] military cooperation with India was considered by the Tang court in the late eighth century, it was not until the Song period that the court-to-court interactions between the two countries able to fully revive.

The Spiritual Underpinnings of Diplomatic Exchanges

One of the most significant aspects of Sino-Indian diplomatic exchanges during Tang period was the apparent Buddhist objective

of the Chinese missions visiting Kanauj. The use of Buddhism in Chinese foreign policy was not uncommon during the Tang dynasty. Antonino Forte, for example, has convincingly demonstrated the role of Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries in China's diplomatic relations with kingdoms in Central Asia during the eighth century. Writing about the Dayun (Great Cloud; Skt. Mahāmegha) monasteries established in Kucha, Kashgar, and Suiye (Tokmak, present-day Ak Beshim, Kirgiztan), Forte argues that "military force was not the only way China tried to pacify the turbulent Central Asian regions. Buddhist religious propaganda and proselytism must have been an essential, if not prevalent, factor in China's Central Asian policy."[87] The Dayun Monastery established in Suiye, for example, not only played a role in the spread of Buddhist doctrines, but also, according to Forte, propagated "the Chinese view of a universal multiracial state based on Buddhist ideology."[88] Indeed, the use of Buddhism as an instrument of Chinese foreign and domestic policies, continued through the end of the first millennium.

The Buddhist component of the Tang missions to Kanauj, however, is somewhat different. Rather than execute strategic foreign policies through Buddhism, the Tang embassies seem to have undertaken a series of Buddhist endeavors for the contemporary Chinese Buddhist community and performed activities related to the personal and spiritual welfare of the Tang rulers. The main reason for this unique spiritual bond between China and Kanauj was undoubtedly the fact that the Buddha lived, taught, and died in the region then under Harṣa's control. In fact, the Buddhist community in China, and especially Xuanzang, seems to have been intimately involved with the Tang missions that visited Kanauj in the seventh century.

From Xuanzang's letter to Emperor Taizong, written in late 644 from the Central Asian kingdom of Khotan, it can be discerned that the Chinese pilgrim was aware of the developing diplomatic ties between the Tang court and Kanauj. Seeking permission to reenter China, Xuanzang, in the letter, underscored his role in the dissemination of Chinese civilization and the propagation of the emperor's virtues. Xuanzang notes that he had "publicized His Majesty's grace and virtues in order to inspire the respect and admiration of people in countries with dissimilar traditions."[89] The emperor immediately sent a reply stating that he was "extremely happy to learn that the monk had returned after seeking the Way in foreign lands. You can

come and see Us at once."[90] On the seventh (or sixth) day of the first lunar month of the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan period (January 31 or February 1, 645), the now famous pilgrim arrived at the Tang capital with great fanfare. On the twenty-third day of the same month (February 23), Xuanzang had his first audience with Emperor Taizong at his palace in Luoyang.

Emperor Taizong was preparing a large scale military offensive against Koguryŏ when he met Xuanzang. Two months earlier, the emperor, facing stiff opposition from his leading ministers, had tried hard to justify his expedition against the Korean kingdom. In an edict issued from Luoyang, the emperor described the Koguryŏ leader Yŏn Kaesomun as a tyrant. To emancipate the people of Koguryŏ and the neighboring kingdoms from Yŏn's cruelties, the emperor argued, an offensive action was not only necessary but also morally justified.[91] The return of Xuanzang seems to have been taken as an auspicious sign by the emperor. Hence, Taizong, who was generally unsympathetic and sometimes critical of the Buddhist cause,[92] quickly granted audience to Xuanzang. Taizong's aim was not to learn about Buddhist teachings from Xuanzang, nor perhaps was he terribly interested in the details of the Western Regions at that moment, although he did ask the pilgrim to write an account of his journey. More likely, as can be seen from Taizong's suggestion for Xuanzang to return to secular life and assist him in administrative affairs, the emperor wanted to secure spiritual support for his temporal quest. In fact, Taizong indirectly made such a request to the monk: "We cannot completely express Our ideas in such a hurry. We wish that you could come with Us to the eastern region and observe the local customs. We can carry on the conversation besides directing the army."[93]

In the past, a number of Buddhist monks, especially those from South and Central Asia, had participated in Chinese military campaigns. The success of their magical and miraculous powers in such operations was legendary since at least the fourth century. The Kuchean monk Fotudeng (an alternate reading of the name is Futucheng), who arrived in China in 310, is perhaps the best example of such "state-monks."[94] In the fifth century, renowned monk translators such as Jiumoluoshi (Kumārajīva, 344–413) and Tanwuchan (Dharmakṣema?, 385–433) are also known to have assisted the Chinese rulers in military and state affairs. It is not surprising, therefore, that Taizong sought Xuanzang's assistance in the offensive against the Korean kingdom.

Aware of the Chinese emperor's real intent, Xuanzang politely turned down the request. "I think," he explained, "I do not have any abilities to help the campaign. Therefore, I shall only feel guilty of wasting provisions on the way."[95] Moreover, with the aim of projecting himself as a true Buddhist, Xuanzang added that the Buddhist rules prohibited him from being involved in battles and wars.[96] The Tang emperor did not pursue the matter any further. Before departing for his Korean campaign, however, he arranged accommodation for Xuanzang at the Hongfu Monastery in the capital and asked him to write an account of the foreign countries the monk had visited.

The Tang forces met with initial success in the war against Koguryŏ. A number of enemy towns in the Liaodong region were quickly sacked by the Chinese troops. However, the failure to capture a key town, lack of supplies, and cold weather turned the tide against Taizong and his army. In the tenth lunar month of 645, a severe winter storm killed hundreds of Tang soldiers.[97] The fatigued emperor himself seems to have picked up a life-threatening illness during a blizzard.[98] Even after the ailing Taizong returned to the capital in the second lunar month of the twentieth year of the Zhenguan period (February-March 646), the Tang offensive against the Korean kingdom continued. And although Yŏn Kaesomun sent a special embassy to the Tang court to "acknowledge guilt,"[99] Taizong was determined to go all the way to the Koguryŏ capital. However, the following year, when the Tang army intensified the military offensive, the emperor was too weak to lead his army. The next two years of Taizong's life, which also happened to be his last two, were marked by a quest for quick remedies for his failing health, including the search for life-prolonging drugs and spiritual healing. It was perhaps because of this health factor that Buddhism and India became important highlights in the closing years of arguably the most dynamic Tang emperor. Credit (and sometimes blame) for drawing the emperor's attention to the fruits of good karma and the Indian physicians specializing in life-prolonging drugs goes to Xuanzang and the Tang envoys returning from India.

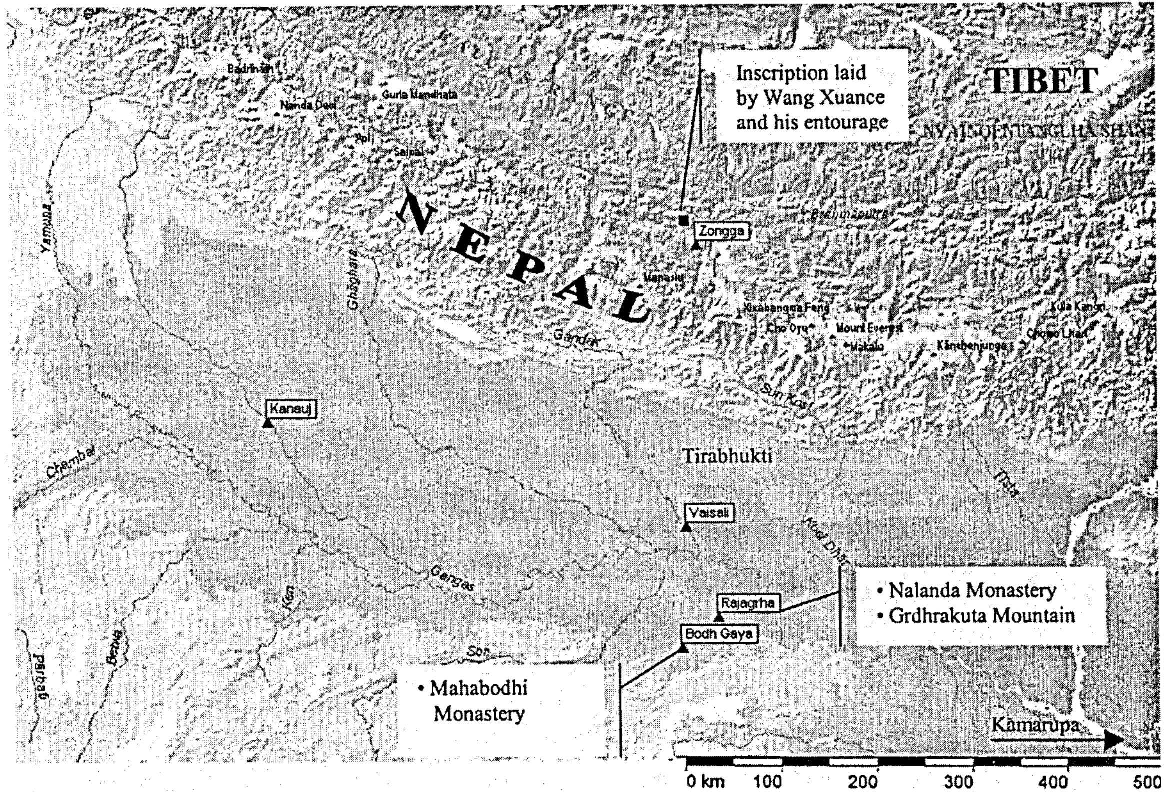
Buddhism in Tang-India Diplomacy

It was perhaps because of the peaceful relations established between the Tang court and the Tibetan kingdom in 641 that the Chinese embassies dispatched to Kanauj were able to undertake Buddhist activities. The second Tang embassy to Kanauj, for example, seems

to have been sent on behalf of the Chinese Buddhist clergy. Consisting of twenty-two people, the mission led by Li Yibiao, who held the titles of *Chaosan dafu* (Grand Master for Closing Court), *Weiweisi cheng* (Aide to the Court of the Imperial Regalia), and *Shang hujun* (Senior Military Protector), and the second-in-command Wang Xuance, a former District Magistrate (Xianling), arrived in Kanauj in the twelfth lunar month of the seventeenth year of the Zhengguan era (January-February 644).[100] The Chinese envoys first attended a Buddhist ceremony organized by Harṣa where they also gained an audience with the king of Kāmarūpa, a kingdom in eastern India. In early 645, the mission reached the city of Rājagṛha, where they placed an inscription tablet at the foot of the sacred Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain. A month later, the envoy visited the Mahābodhi Monastery in Bodh Gayā and placed an inscription beneath the Bodhi Tree under which Śākyamuni is supposed to have attained enlightenment.[101] The mission also included an artisan named Song Fazhi, who drew images of Buddhist architecture and artifacts. The painting of the Maitreya under the Bodhi Tree that he seems to have drawn in India was later used as a blueprint for a sculpture at the Jing'ai Monastery in Luoyang and another golden image of the figure in Chang'an.[102]

The object of this second Tang embassy to India was more than just to visit sacred Buddhist sites. A number of Chinese sources note that Emperor Taizong sent this mission with the aim of acquiring the technology of making sugar.[103] The biography of Xuanzang found in Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (Continuation of the Biographies of the Eminent Monks) explains the episode in detail:

> [King] Harṣa and the monks [from the Mahābodhi Monastery] each sent secondary envoys carrying various *sūtras* and treasures to go afar and present [the gifts] to China. This was accomplished by [Xuan]zang's [efforts] to transmit the "August Plan" [of Emperor Taizong]. When the envoys were about to return to the West, Wang Xuance and twenty others were ordered to go toward Bactria along with them. Moreover, they were presented with more than a thousand bolts of silk. The king (i.e., Harṣa), monks, and others had their individual share [of the silk]. At the [Mahā]bodhi Monastery, the monks summoned the makers of sugar, and then sent two makers [of sugar] and eight monks to



Map 2. Buddhist Sites Visited by Tang Embassies in the Mid-Seventh Century

> accompany [the Chinese embassy] to China. Shortly afterwards, an Imperial decree [from the Tang court] ordered [them] to proceed to Yuezhou.[104] There, using sugarcane, they were able to make sugar. Everything was successfully accomplished.[105]

The above event not only demonstrates the involvement of Buddhist monks in diplomatic contacts between China and India, but also informs us of their role in the transmission of the sugar-making technology. The impact of this technological transfer on later Chinese history and society has been noted in the works of Christian Daniels and Sucheta Mazumdar.[106] Both have emphasized the Buddhist elements involved in the transmission. Daniels suggests that the motive behind the technology transfer may have originated with the Buddhist monks rather than the imperial court. Indeed, the initial desire for the technology of making sugar during the Tang period may have been greater among the elite members of the Chinese Buddhist community than the common people. It is conceivable, therefore, that the Buddhist monks were intentionally included in the Tang mission in order to bring the technology to China. The demand for sugar in China and the implications of the transfer of sugar-making technology on Sino-Indian commerce are discussed in Chapter 4.

Evidence regarding the Buddhist involvement in the Tang missions also comes from the personal activities of the Chinese envoy Wang Xuance. Expressing his feelings about Buddhism on his maiden trip to India in 643, the then vice envoy notes: "I had the unexpected good fortune to see the venerable foot-prints [of the Buddha]. Sometimes sad, sometimes happy, I could not control my feelings. This is why I have engraved an inscription on the mountain face to perpetuate an everlasting souvenir so that the emperor of the Tang may have a splendor as durable as that of the sun and the moon, and the law of the Buddha may be as extensive and as vast as this mountain and may obtain an equal strength."[107] In fact, Wang Xuance's Buddhist deeds are almost as noteworthy as his accomplishment in capturing the Indian "usurper" Aruṇāśa. Fragments of Wang Xuance's records of his visits to India, a memorial he presented to the Tang court in 662, and recent archeological evidence indicate that the Chinese diplomat was a lay Buddhist. These sources provide crucial information about Wang Xuance's personal life that, due to the lack of biographical material and the loss of the diplomat's travelogue to India, would have otherwise remained unknown.[108]

After Wang Xuance's second trip to India (i.e., the third Tang mission to Kanauj) was interrupted by Aruṇāśa's raid on the Chinese embassy, his third voyage during the Xianqing period (656–660) was also dominated by Buddhist activities. Sent sometime in the third lunar month of the third year of the Xianqing period (April-May 658), the purpose of this fourth Tang embassy to Middle India was to carry a monastic robe (Ch. *jiasha*; Skt. *kāṣāya*) for presentation at the Mahābodhi Monastery on behalf of Emperor Gaozong (r. 649–683). Buddhist monks, including a Sogdian named Sengjiapamo (Saṅghavarman?), were part of this imperial pilgrimage.[109] On November 5, 660, Jielong (Śilanāga?), the head of the Mahābodhi Monastery, organized a grand reception for the Chinese embassy and presented Wang Xuance with gifts that included pearls, ivory, relics of the Buddha, and various impressions of the Buddha.[110]

Although the presentation of the robe may have been meant as a meritorious act of gift-giving (*dāna*),[111] it may have also embodied a more symbolic meaning. The Buddhist robe in the early Tang period represented the transmission of Buddhist teachings.[112] Especially within the Chan tradition, it symbolized the transmission of the doctrine from India to China and then from one generation of Chan patriarch to another. At the time the robe-bearing embassy was dispatched to India, Empress Wu Zetian was gradually wielding her power at the Tang court. What would transpire under the empress, as is explained in the next chapter, was a forceful attempt to transform China into a legitimate Buddhist realm capable of transmitting its own doctrines to India. It is, thus, conceivable that the presentation of the monastic robe by the Chinese embassy to the Mahābodhi Monastery symbolically represented the inception of this attempt to portray China as a sacred Buddhist land.

Shortly after his return to China in the spring of the first year of the Longshuo period (661), Wang Xuance became involved in a major controversy at the Tang court. On the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month (May 8) of 662, Emperor Gaozong issued an edict calling his officials to debate on whether the Buddhist tradition of not bowing to the laity and the temporal ruler should continue in China. Sixty-four officials reported their views on the issue in the following month. Wang Xuance's memorial was one of the thirty-two that supported the position of the Buddhist community. "I have," wrote Wang, "witnessed and heard a number of things through the three diplomatic missions [to India] that I undertook.

I have heard that King Śuddhodana was the father of the Buddha, and Mahāmāyā his mother. Monk Upālī, who was originally a servant of the royal family, received personal obeisance from the king just as the Buddha did. I have, moreover, seen that the monks and nuns of that country, who according to the [monastic] laws do not worship the various heavenly gods and spirits, also do not pay homage to the kings and parents. The kings and parents, [on the contrary], all bow to the monks, nuns, and various other followers of the Way."[113] After giving other examples and quoting from Buddhist texts such as *Weimo jing* (*Vimalakīrti Sūtra*) and *Fahua jing* (the *Lotus Sūtra*), Wang Xuance concluded by noting, "I hope, in accordance with the ways of the past, [You] do not change the rules, and following the previous policies of Emperor Wen (i.e., Taizong) let the custom of [monks and nuns] not bowing [to the laity] continue."[114] In all, 539 officials supported the continuation of past policies and 354 opted for a change.[115] Perhaps as a result of these arguments, the exemption from bowing to laity granted to the Chinese Buddhist community was continued.

By now, if not at an earlier stage, the Tang diplomat had become a Buddhist adherent. His strong faith in and support for Buddhism are not only reflected in the above memorial he presented to the Tang court, but proof of Wang Xuance's Buddhist piety also comes from archeological sources. An inscription dated the fifth day of the ninth lunar month of the second year of the Linde period (October 29, 665), found in the south Binyang cave of Longmen in Luoyang, records the installation of the image of Maitreya by Wang Xuance.[116] Another inscription, dated to the second year of the Yonglong period (681), found in the Bingling cave 54, in Gansu province, reports Wang Xuance's pious act of installing images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas.[117] Although Wang Xuance seems to have stopped short of renouncing lay life, his nephew Zhihong took Buddhist vows and visited India in the eighth century.[118] In addition, circumstantial evidence points to personal contacts between Wang Xuance and Xuanzang, the two most prominent Tang experts of India. In a letter, dated 654, written by Xuanzang to monk Jñānaprabha (Ch. Zhiguang) of Mahābodhi Monastery, the Chinese monk mentions that he learned about the recent death of his Indian teacher Dharmadīrgha (Ch. Fazang) from a "returning envoy."[119] It is likely that this Tang envoy mentioned by Xuanzang was Wang Xuance.

It is also possible that Xuanzang, along with Wang Xuance, suggested to Emperor Gaozong (and Emperess Wu) the idea of sending a special mission to bestow a robe at the Mahābodhi Monastery. It is hard to imagine that the emperor, who in 657 had forbidden monks and nuns from receiving obeisance from their parents and elders and was questioning other Buddhist customs, would have planned the imperial pilgrimage himself. In fact, we find Xuanzang in the company of the emperor in the months preceding the Tang mission to Middle India in 658. Like his father, Emperor Gaozong, too, revered Xuanzang. Even before he ascended to the Tang throne, the heir apparent, in 636, appointed Xuanzang as the chief monk of the Ci'en Monastery dedicated to his mother. The Chinese monk was also the spiritual preceptor to the emperor's first son by his wife Empress Wu. And in 657, when the monk wanted to leave the noisy capital and retire to the Shaolin Monastery, Gaozong denied the request insisting that his "presence was necessary for the spiritual welfare of the Emperor."[120] In other words, it is likely that the Tang mission of 658 was sent to India to perform merit-making activities on Xuanzang's suggestion during his stay with the emperor. As before, Wang Xuance was asked to perform the pious act of seeking good karma on behalf of the emperor, and, with the presentation of the robe to the Mahābodhi Monastery, declare the establishment of a Buddhist realm in China.[121]

The court-sponsored Tang pilgrimages to Buddhist sites in India, comparable to those examined above, ceased after the seventh century. One of the reasons for the termination of such missions, as pointed out previously, seems to be Emperor Xuanzong's (who ruled for almost the entire first half of the eighth century) severe retrenching of Buddhist activities. By this time, however, the Chinese clergy had successfully bridged the spatial gap between China and the Buddhist world in India. As is discussed in detail in the next chapter, the Chinese clergy, through the employment of Buddhist paraphernalia and the manipulation of Buddhist texts and ideas, were able to claim a place for themselves within the realm of the Buddhist world. The presence of the remains of the Buddha and the prophecies concerning the appearance and reincarnation of buddhas and bodhisattvas within the Chinese borders, for example, justified their claims. In fact, in a total reversal of the pattern of Buddhist exchanges between India and China, Indian monks are reported to have been

making pilgrimages to Buddhist sites in China since the second half of the seventh century. This new scenario may have also abated the need to make special merit-making imperial pilgrimages to Buddhist sites in India.

A second aspect that is explored in detail later in this book concerns the commercial implications of the diplomatic missions exchanged between the Tang court and Kanauj. The link between the popularity of Buddhism in China and the growth of Sino-Indian commerce is aptly discussed in the works of Xinru Liu. The Chinese demand for sacred Buddhist items, Liu argues, sustained the bilateral transactions in commodities such as coral, pearls, glass, and silk.[122] Liu has further demonstrated the exchange of silk, cotton, and Buddhist relics executed by the Tang envoys discussed in this chapter.[123] During his last visit to India, for instance, Wang Xuance seems to have paid as much as four thousand bolts of silk to purchase a small parietal bone of the Buddha from a Buddhist monastery in northwestern India.[124] Certainly, the Buddhist institutions in India, with their deposits of Buddhist artifacts, would have benefited from such Chinese interest in obtaining sacred Buddhist items. At the same time, merchants moving between Indian and Chinese markets may have also profited from the sustained popularity of Buddhism, the peace along the highways linking the two countries, and the growing bilateral contacts. If tribute missions from India are any indication of developing Sino-Indian commercial contacts, and it seems correct to presume so, then forty or so Indian tributary missions to China in the seventh and eighth centuries attest to the brisk nature of such relations. These commercial exchanges, including the transfer of sugar-making technology and the practice of giving gifts to Buddhist monasteries noted above, and their wider implications are examined in Chapters 4 and 5. It will be argued that the intimate connection between the transmission of Buddhist doctrines and Sino-Indian trade illustrated by Xinru Liu for the pre-seventh century, not only continued but also expanded in the first half of the Tang dynasty.

The Search for Longevity Physicians

Buddhism may have been the principal component of Tang missions sent to Kanauj in the mid-seventh century, but it was not the only one. There were at least two other noteworthy spiritual dimensions to these missions. The first was the attempt to introduce Daoist teachings into India, and the second was Emperor Taizong's search for life-

prolonging Indian drugs and physicians. While both these dimensions illustrate the unique interest the Chinese seem to have had in the Indic world, the search for Indian longevity drugs and physicians in particular represents a key motivation for the Tang rulers to sponsor special missions to South Asia.

In the twenty-first year of the Zhenguan period (647), Li Yibiao, the Tang ambassador who led the second Chinese embassy to Kanauj in 643, finally managed to obtain an audience with the Emperor Taizong. Li Yibiao and his entourage, with the sugar-making technology they had acquired, returned to China in late 645 or early 646, when the emperor was still engaged in the military campaign against Koguryŏ. With the returning Chinese embassy, King Harṣa sent a fourth diplomatic mission carrying gifts that included "fire pearl" (*agnimaṇī*),[125] turmeric, and a sapling of the Bodhi Tree.[126] In his report to the emperor, Li Yibiao made note of another king he met in India:

> "In the reign of King Tongzi (Kumāra) of East India,[127] there is no presence of Buddhist doctrines. [Only] heretic teachings have flourished. I have told [the king] that 'in the kingdom of Great China, before [the arrival of] Buddhism, the scriptures preached by the accomplished sages were popular among the lay people. Yet, these [sacred] texts have not arrived [here]. Those who are able to obtain [these] texts would, without fail, believe and honor them.' The king said: 'When you return to your country, translate them into Sanskrit. I would like to read them.' If Daoist [teachings can] go across to this disciple, it will not be too late to promote [them in India]."[128]

In response to the Indian king's request, the emperor ordered Daoist priests, in collaboration with Xuanzang, to translate the Daoist work *Daode jing* into Sanskrit.[129] The reluctant Xuanzang, however, tried to convince the court that it was not worth translating the Daoist text. First, Xuanzang explained, it would be linguistically impossible to translate Chinese words into Sanskrit. Second, he argued, since the belief system of the Indians was completely different from that of the Chinese, it would be difficult for them to understand Daoist philosophy. Xuanzang bluntly warned that the translated text might become a laughingstock.[130] Certainly, the Buddhist monk did not want any part in the promotion of a rival doctrine in his Holy Land.

Whether the main assignment for the next Tang embassy to India, sent in early 648, was to present the translated Daoist scripture to the king of Kāmarūpa is not documented. In fact, extant sources are also ambiguous about the completion of the translation project authorized by Taizong.[131] This third Tang embassy, as mentioned above, nonetheless became the most celebrated of the Chinese missions to India because of the lead-envoy Wang Xuance's stunning victory against Aruṇāśa.

As if the captured Indian villain was not enough to demonstrate the success of the mission, Wang Xuance returned to China with a Brahman physician. Called Naluoershapo[mei] (Nārāyaṇasvāmin?), the Brahman introduced himself as an expert in preparing longevity drugs. To demonstrate the potency of his skills, he claimed to be over two hundred years old. Is it possible that one of the motives for sending Wang Xuance to India in 648 was to find such a Brahman for the ailing Taizong? The quest for a longevity doctor, especially at a time when the emperor had recently witnessed the deaths of some of his leading officials and was struggling with his own health problems, is hardly surprising.[132] However, Chen Tsu-lung, in his study of the "Hot-spring Inscription" penned by Taizong in the first lunar month of the twenty-second year of the Zhenguan period (January-February 648), has dismissed the Tang emperor's interest in the "doctrine of immortality."[133] "First of all," he writes, "should we care to study the contents of this (i.e., the Hot-spring Inscription) rubbing, it would be quite easy for us to understand how much T'ai-tsung (Taizong) preferred maintaining his health by bathing in a hot-spring rather than take any 'drug of giving long life,' and then, according to the *Chen-kuan Cheng-yao* (*Zhenguan zhengyao,* Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Reign Period) he is reported to have severely criticized both the First Emperor (r. 246–208) of the Ch'in (Qin) Dynasty and the Emperor Wu (r. 140–85 B.C.) of the Former Han Dynasty for their devotion to the doctrine of immortality and their foolishness in pinning their faith on the elixir of life!"[134] But, it is apparent that this strong and "practical" leader had a change of heart and his faith took a significant turn in the last few months of his life.

For most of his life Taizong had little or no interest in either Buddhist philosophy or India. But he did, as was suggested in the case of Xuanzang, share some of the popular beliefs regarding the miraculous powers of Buddhist monks. In 648, still very adamant about

punishing the Koguryŏ leader, the emperor again pressed Xuanzang to participate in state affairs. Xuanzang for the second straight time declined the emperor's request. Xuanzang's refusal, instead of deterring the emperor, actually seems to have drawn him closer to the Buddhist doctrine. In fact, as has been pointed out by modern scholars, the emperor's interaction with Xuanzang kindled his interest in Buddhist activities. And soon, "performing a volte-face," writes Stanley Weinstein, "he (i.e., Emperor Taizong) now proclaimed Buddhism to be superior to both Confucianism and Taoism (Daoism) as well as to the other schools of Chinese philosophy."[135] Weinstein is right when he explains that the emperor's change of heart was "largely attributable to his failing health."[136] Taizong's changing attitude is clearly demonstrated in the discussion he had with Xuanzang in mid-648. "Worried about his life," as Yancong (fl. seventh cent.), one of the biographers of Xuanzang, puts it, the emperor asked the Buddhist master to name the most meritorious deed that he could perform. Xuanzang suggested that the ordination of monks would be most beneficial. A few months later, in the first day of the ninth lunar month of the twenty-second year of the Zhenguan period (September 23, 648), the emperor issued an edict allowing the ordination of 18,500 monks and nuns.[137]

Within a few days of the issuance of the above edict, Wang Xuance returned from India with the captured tyrant and the longevity doctor. Did Taizong interpret the arrival of the Brahman expert on life-prolonging drugs to be a reward for his meritorious deed of ordaining monks? Indeed, the emperor's action does indicate an anticipated miracle from the Indian doctor. Ignoring his own criticism of "foolish seekers of longevity," Taizong housed the wonder-worker in the Office of Precious Metals and ordered him to produce the life-prolonging drug. The emperor assigned the Minister of War Cui Dunli to look after the needs of the alchemist. Every effort seems to have been made to provide the doctor with ingredients required to manufacture the drug for the emperor. "Envoys," the *Zizhi tongjian* records, "were sent in from four directions to find strange herbs and rare stones. Embassies were also sent to the Indian kingdoms to procure [longevity] drugs."[138] The cordial reception the Indian doctor received seems to confirm that bringing Indian life-prolonging technology and technicians to China could have been one of the, if not the main, tasks of the third Tang mission to Middle India.

Neither karmic deeds nor the Indian longevity doctor, however, were able to prolong Emperor Taizong's life. In the third lunar month of the twenty-third year of the Zhenguan period (April-May 649) the emperor died at age 49. A few years later, when Emperor Gaozong wanted to experiment with longevity drugs, high officials at the court pointed out the failed attempt of the Indian doctor to save his father. They even suggested that the death of Taizong may have resulted from the drugs concocted by the Brahman Nārāyaṇasvāmin.[139] The blame for bringing the Indian doctor was put on Wang Xuance, who now held the title of *You* (Companion) to Li Yuanqing (one of the sons of Emperor Gaozu). Wang tried to defend the doctor's abilities, but Emperor Gaozong, like his father, took note of the foolish desires of the First Emperor and Emperor Wu and decided to send the doctor back to India.[140] Accusing Wang of trickery and lying, one of the powerful Chief Ministers, Li Ji (594–669), seconded the emperor's decision.[141]

Before he could embark on his voyage home, the disgraced doctor of longevity died at the Chinese capital. Nonetheless, Gaozong's interest in Indian life-prolonging drugs and doctors persisted. During the Linde period (664–666), for example, Emperor Gaozong, after having a long audience with the monk Xuanzhao, whom he had especially recalled from India, ordered him to go to Kaśmīr and bring a Brahman physician named Lujiayiduo (Lokāditya?).[142] Before this, the emperor seems to have already sent a separate mission to escort the same Brahman physician to China.[143] The *Zizhi tongjian* records that in the tenth lunar month of the first year of the Zhongzang era (November-December 668), "the Brahman from Uḍḍiyāna, Lokāditya,[144] was appointed as the *Huaihua da jiangjun* (Civilizing General). Lokāditya claimed that he could concoct immortality drugs." But, the work continues, when "the Emperor was about to take the bait, the *Dongtai Shilang* (Attendant Gentleman of the Eastern Capital) He Chujun presented a memorial saying: '[Life] span is [based on] destiny. It cannot be extended through drugs. During the final [years] of the Zhenguan [era], the previous Emperor (i.e., Taizong) had taken drugs [concocted by] Nārāyaṇasvāmin, [but] without any success. At the time of Great Demise [of Taizong], the whereabouts of the famous doctor were unknown. The critics turned to blame [Nārāyaṇa]svāmin. [They] wanted to expose [him and have him] put to death. However, fearing that the barbarians would be agitated [over the matter], [they] restrained [themselves].

The previous example [of the incompetency of life-prolonging physicians] is not in the distant past. We hope His Majesty will examine the matter carefully.'" He's memorial questioning the potency of the immortality drugs seems to have deterred Gaozong from employing Lokāditya.[145]

The interest in Indian life-prolonging drugs and physicians, however, persisted in Tang China at least until the early ninth century. In the fourth year of the Kaiyuan era (716), for example, when a foreigner (*hu*), probably a trader, informed Emperor Xuanzong that "miraculous drugs and old women skilled in medicine" could be found in Sri Lanka, the emperor ordered one of his officials to accompany the foreigner to bring the drugs and a female physician to China. However, the official wrote a memorial to the emperor explaining that the "potency of foreign drugs was unascertained in China. In addition, it would be difficult to accommodate an old foreign woman in the palace quarters!" The emperor agreed and the mission was subsequently cancelled.[146] Less than a century later, when Emperor Xianzong (r. 806–821) inquired about the potency of longevity drugs, he was told by one of the court officials that the previous emperor, Dezong (r. 780–805), fell sick and died because of the Indian/foreign elixir he had consumed.[147] Although the emperor was temporarily deterred by his official's statement, he, too, seems to have experimented with and died from the intake of metallic elixirs.[148] Deaths of some other succeeding Tang emperors may have also resulted due to experimentation with life-prolonging drugs.[149]

Two issues pertaining to the Tang emperors' interest in Indian life-prolonging drugs and physicians need to be briefly addressed here. First, why did South Asia become a popular destination for Tang envoys searching for life-prolonging drugs and physicians? Second, does the employment of Brahmans as life-prolonging physicians indicate that the Chinese distinguished between Buddhist and Brahmanical views and means of extending life span?

Although it was possible within the Buddhist framework to accept immortality,[150] the means to achieve it usually involved performing moral deeds. The Pāli text *Cakkavatti sīhanāda Sutta* (The Lion's Roar on the Turning of the Wheel):

> Let us refrain from taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, from lying speech, from slander, from harsh speech, from idle chatter, from covetousness, from ill-will, from wrong

> views; let us abstain from the three things: incest, excessive greed, and deviant practices; let us respect our mothers and fathers, ascetics and Brahmins, and the head of the clan, and let us persevere in these wholesome actions. And so they will do these things, and on account of this they will increase life-span and in beauty.[151]

Indeed, early Buddhist doctrine seems to maintain that an extended life span was conducive to achieving enlightenment. Healing of physical disease and illness through medication and meditation were accepted means to prolong life.[152] With the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the beginning of the first millennium, specific bodhisattvas, such as Bhaiṣajyaguru, and spells could also be invoked to extend physical life.[153] Raoul Birnbaum notes that such Buddhist views on longevity may have "intrigued" the Chinese during the initial phase of transmission of Buddhism because "they related to a basic concern of native religious practices."[154] The merging of native currents, which according to Birnbaum are expressed in Shang oracle bones, Zhou ritual vessels, Daoist alchemists, and other aspects of early Chinese religious practices, "with the new teachings from 'western lands,' the quest for long life became a prominent feature in the practice of Chinese Buddhism, and it remains so to the present day."[155]

The Buddhist means to longevity, however, rarely involved concocting immortality elixirs. In fact, on numerous occasions Buddhist monks in China criticized Daoist ideas on immortality and argued that "through meditation and absorption one attains permanence of spirit, the wondrous state of nirvāṇa, which is much superior to the fancy bodily states reached through immortality techniques and drugs."[156] It was perhaps to preserve their own unique tradition of karma and retribution and the means therein to prolong life that the Buddhist community in China often opted not to recommend immortality elixirs to the Chinese rulers.[157] It is, thus, possible that the Tang emperors perceived Buddhism to offer ways to immortality in another world, realm, or form, while Brahman alchemists were thought to have the knowledge of concocting magical drugs for the current lifetime.

In India, ideas on and drugs of immortality and longevity can be traced back to the pre-Buddhist period. Special mention in the *Vedas*, for example, is made of the drink *soma* and the plant *kūṣṭha*,

both of which supposedly prolonged life and conferred immortality. During the post-vedic phase, Brahmanical ideas on immortality and longevity were perfected within the *rasāyana* (elixir therapy) branch of *āyurveda* (science of longevity).[158] *Rasāyana*, as David Gordon White points out, "is the most holistic and prestigious of all Ayurvedic systems of healing, taking the body to be an integrated whole, the microcosmic reflection of the universal macrocosm. Its prestige also lies in the results it promises: *rasāyana* is rejuvenation therapy which, combining clinical practice with the internal use of elixirs, affords long life, whence the classical statement of the *Caraka Saṁhitā* (6.I.7–8): 'Long life, heightened memory and intelligence, freedom from disease, a healthy glow, good complexion, a deep, powerful voice, great bodily and sensory powers, the capacity to see one's pronouncements realized, respectability, beauty—all these does one obtain from *rasāyana*. It is called *rasāyana* because it is a means to replenishing the *rasa* [essence] and other *dhātus* [constituents] of the body.'"[159] The practitioners of *rasāyana* experimented with various metals, including mercury and gold, in order to extend the life of people.

Although difficult to substantiate with presently available sources, it is possible that accounts of Indian *rasāyana* tradition entered China before the introduction of Buddhism. Thus, the missions of the First Emperor and Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty to foreign countries in search of longevity drugs, often referred to in Chinese sources, may, in fact, be related to early Chinese interest in South Asian elixirs. One has to wonder if the image of a glowing, golden man that Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty saw in his dream,[160] the famous episode usually connected to the introduction of Buddhism into China, was actually an infused perception of *rasāyana* and Buddhist teachings from India that had filtered into China sometime before the Common Era.[161]

Although the above assertion of the presence of Brahmanical alchemy in China before the Common Era may remain speculative, it can be discerned from Chinese sources that Brahmans and other non-Buddhist practitioners of Indian alchemy were regularly appearing in the Chinese capital and at the coastal cities.[162] In the third century, for example, Chen Shou (233–297) reports of a physician named Huatuo (ca.110–207) who seems to have practiced Ayurvedic medicine in the Jiangsu-Shandong regions of China. In fact, Victor

Mair has suggested that the physician's name can be reconstructed as **ghwa-thā* in its ancient Sinitic pronunciation, derived, as was first proposed by Chen Yinque, from the Sanskrit *agada* ("medicine").[163] While he was not an Indian, Huatuo seems to have been influenced by Brahmanical medical tradition.

During the Sui dynasty (581–618), a number of works on Brahmanical medicine were reportedly circulating in China. Although the works are no longer extant, their titles are recorded in the *Sui shu* (History of the Sui [Dynasty]). These works include the *Xiyu poluo xianren fang* (Prescriptions of the Brahman Sage in the Western Regions) in three scrolls, the *Poluomen zhuxian yaofang* (Prescriptions of the Brahman Sages) in twenty scrolls, and the *Poluomen yaofang* (Prescriptions of the Brahmans) in five scrolls.[164] *Sui shu* also records of the availability of Indian alchemical works by Nāgārjuna, who may have lived in India in the sixth or seventh century.[165] Moreover, multiple families of Brahman officials are known to have staffed the Tang Bureau of Astronomy. These Indian astronomers not only translated Brahmanical works, such as the *Jiuzhi li* (*Navagrāha siddhanta*), but also seem to have introduced secular aspects of Indian astronomy and mathematics into China.[166] In addition, a number of Brahman officials are reported to have been employed by Empress Wu to legitimize her newly established Zhou dynasty.[167] The contribution of some of these non-Buddhist individuals to the transmission of Indian culture to China is discussed in the next chapter.

The validity of Joseph Needham's assertion that the longevity techniques employed by the Brahman physicians invited to China were originally transmitted from China to South Asia deserves a separate study. David Gordon White holds that Chinese influences on Indian alchemy were indeed possible. In fact, it would be futile to overlook the clues that indicate that the transmission of information, ideas, and technology between India and China was not in one direction.[168] According to the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, the Buddhist monk Yancong (557–610) was asked by the Sui court to translate works describing China to the Indian audience. The Chinese monk is reported to have rendered two texts, the *Guojia xiangrui lu* (Records of the Auspicious Signs in [This] Country) and the *Sheli rui tu jing* (Illustrated *Sūtra* of the Auspicious Signs Related to the Relics), into Sanskrit for transmittal to India. These two works seem to have contained records of Buddhist activities undertaken by Emperor Wen

(r. 581–601), especially his relic-distribution campaigns during the Renshou period (601–604), as well as geographical and cultural information about China.[169]

Similarly, various Chinese products, including silk, hide, peach, and camphor, are known to have reached Indian markets before Buddhism began dominating the contacts between the two countries. In addition, if Chinese mercury, as White points out, had to be imported by the Indian practitioners of *rasāyana*, it is possible that with the product came instructions of how the Chinese alchemists used it to manufacture elixirs. In fact, according to the South Indian Sittar tradition, the alchemist Bogar (also recorded as Pokar or Bhoga), a Daoist priest by some accounts, purportedly traveled to South India between the third and fifth centuries and influenced Indian alchemy.[170] The Tang emperors who sought the life-prolonging technique may not have been aware of any Chinese influences on Indian ways of concocting longevity drugs. For them, Indian methods to extend life span, in addition to those available in China, were worth the risk—even though past experiments had all ended in failure.

In Chinese dynastic histories, India is presented as one of many far-away regions that occasionally sent tribute missions to China and, thereby, acknowledged her status as a vassal state. Indeed, under the Confucian concept of "*Tianxia*" (all-under-heaven), in which China was regarded as the most advanced and cultured civilization, India no doubt occupied the status of "outer feudatory" (*waifan*) or "civilized" barbarian (*shufan*).[171] In reality, however, as can be discerned from this chapter, India held an exceptional position in the Chinese world order. The effective dissemination of Buddhist doctrines and the idealized views of the Indic world in Chinese society created the peerless image of India as a spiritual land. The Tang missions to Middle India in the seventh century are manifestations of the spiritual and otherworldly attractions of Chinese rulers and clergy toward the Indic world.

Evidence of the fact that some of the Indians residing in Tang China were aware of this exceptional status for India comes from a statement made by the esoteric Indian monk Vajrabodhi (670–741). When, during the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong, foreign monks were ordered to leave China, Vajrabodhi refused to accept the order saying, "I am an Indian monk (*fanseng*), not a foreign barbarian (*fanhu*).[172] The imperial edict has no relevance [for me]. There

is no way that I am leaving [China]."[173] Similar distinction between Indians and other foreigners in China is reported to have been offered by the famous Chinese translator Yancong during the Sui dynasty. "The *hu* [people]," Yancong says, "are originally the offspring of various barbarians, but the *fan* [people] are the descendants of the true sages."[174] Such Chinese views on Indians and their attractions toward Buddhist sites in South Asia exemplify the spiritual bonds that linked and, at the same time, stimulated the interactions between India and China during the seventh century.

CHAPTER TWO

The Emergence of China as a Central Buddhist Realm

> Devaputra, it is because of the numberless roots of good that you have planted, that now you have obtained so luminous a light and it is because of this, oh Devaputra, that in the last period following my Nirvāṇa, in the fourth five-hundred year period, when the Law is about to fade away, you, in the country of Mahācīna in the north-eastern region of this Jambudvīpa, will be in the position of Avaivartika. Since in reality you will be a Bodhisattva, you will manifest a female body and you will be the sovereign head.
>
> —*Baoyu jing*

The unique nature of official exchanges between India and Tang China is evident. While the materialistic needs of the Chinese clergy prompted some of the court missions to the Buddhist heartland in Middle India, others were dispatched by Tang rulers captivated by the prospects of finding longevity drugs and establishing religious merit. This conspicuous spiritual undercurrent of Sino-Indian diplomatic relations during the middle of the seventh century reflected the vibrant Buddhist traffic between the two countries and the prominence Buddhism had attained in China by the time of the Tang dynasty. Indeed, Buddhist relations between India and China during the Tang period is usually epitomized by the impressive count of monks travelling between the two regions and the large number of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese.

Although the movement of monks and the translation of Buddhist texts augmented interactions and facilitated the exchange of ideas between the two countries, two parallel developments during the

Tang period had an appreciable effect on Sino-Indian relations. First, the evolution of indigenous Buddhist schools under Tang China generated new ideas and practices unique to the Chinese Buddhist community. The rapid adoption of such ideas and practices transformed Buddhist doctrines in China to such a degree that they became radically distinct from their Indic origins. This transformation of Buddhism, a process often referred to as "sinicization," rendered Buddhist doctrines more susceptible to the requirements of the Chinese clergy and lay society. At the same time, however, it abated the Chinese aspirations for doctrinal input from Indian Buddhist community, thereby retrenching the cultural transmissions from India to China through Buddhism. By the eleventh century, the contribution of Buddhism to Sino-Indian exchanges dwindled and the spiritual undercurrent driving the interactions between the two countries diminished.

Second, in the eighth century, China itself emerged as a leading center for disseminating Buddhist teachings and texts in East Asia. At the same time, it was also recognized as the abode of worthy Buddhist divinities (such as Kṣitigarbha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī). Consequently, members of the Buddhist communities in the neighboring East Asian kingdoms frequented Chinese monasteries and mountains either on pilgrimages or in search of Buddhist teachings. More importantly, even Indian monks, who in the past had been travelling to China to transmit the teachings of the Buddha, now arrived especially to pay obeisance to famous bodhisattvas purported to be residing in China. This recognition of China as a legitimate pilgrimage site by the Indian monastic community dispelled the borderland complex that had tormented the Chinese clergy since the third and fourth centuries.

Together, these two developments gave definitive shape to indigenous Buddhist ideas and practices and ensured, as is discussed in Chapter 3, the survival of Buddhism during periods of intellectual and social change in post-Tang China. They were also instrumental in positioning China as the foremost Buddhist center by the time Indian monastic institutions and pilgrimage sites, in the twelfth century, fell into destitution due to invasions by Islamic forces. This chapter demonstrates how the Chinese clergy, by propagating the presence of the deceased Buddha Sākyamuni, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Ch. Wenshushili), and the future Buddha Maitreya (Ch. Mile), transformed China into a legitimate Buddhist realm. While in the short term this process stimulated the exchange of Buddhist monks and parapher-

nalia between India and Tang China, it also gradually unraveled the spiritual bonds that were sustaining Sino-Indian interactions for over seven centuries.

The Remains of Śākyamuni: The Link to the Deceased Buddha

While translated texts and foreign monks assisted the Chinese clergy in establishing the teachings of the Buddha (*dharma*) and the community of monks (*saṃgha/sangha*), two of the "Three Jewels" (*triratna*) of Buddhism, a direct link to Śākyamuni Buddha—the first Jewel—was attempted through the veneration of his images and relics.[1] This desire to venerate the relics of the Buddha not only prompted Chinese monks to visit Indian monasteries and sites related to the life of the Buddha, but also triggered the export of the sacred remains and other related items from India to China.[2] In fact, the veneration of Buddhist relics in China served several purposes. For example, it fashioned merit-making activities, stimulated material transactions, propagated the building of commemorative monuments, and contributed to the formation of political links between the state and the monastic community. More importantly, the relics, which are categorized as bodily relics (*sarīrika cetiyaṃ*), items used by the Buddha (*uddesika cetiyaṃ*), and objects built in commemoration of the Buddha (*pāribhogika cetiyaṃ*), provided Buddhist followers in China an opportunity to come into physical contact with objects that were supposed to be either the bodily remains of the Buddha or things closely associated with him. Indeed, the close proximity between the Buddha relics and Chinese adherents realized one of the basic purposes of relic veneration: the bridging of the temporal and spatial gap between the followers and the sites and times of the founder of their faith; which, in turn, sustained the establishment of a Buddhist world in a foreign land.[3]

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*), which narrates the last few days of the Buddha's life, contains the famous story of the struggle among Indian rulers to retrieve the bodily remains of the Buddha. The work notes,

> And when the Lord's body was burnt, what had been skin, under-skin, flesh, sinew, or joint-fluid, all that vanished and not even ashes or dust remained, only the bones remained. . . . And

> King Ajātasattu Vedehiputta of Magadha heard that the Lord had passed away at Kusinārā. And he sent a message to the Mallas of Kusinārā: 'The Lord was a Khattiya (=Skt. Kṣatriya, the warrior/ruling class) and I am a Khattiya. I am worthy to receive a share of the Lord's remains. I will make a great stupa for them.' The Licchavis of Vesālī heard, and they sent a message: 'The Lord was a Khattiya and we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a share of the Lord's remains, and we will make a great stupa for them.' The Sakyas of Kapilavatthu heard, and they sent a message: 'The Lord was the chief of our clan. We are worthy to receive a share of the Lord's remains, and we will make a great stupa for them.' The Bulayas of Allakappa and Koliyas of Rāmagāma replied similarly. The Brahmin of Veṭhadīpa heard, and he sent a message: 'The Lord was a Khattiya, I am a Brahmin . . .', and the Mallas of Pāvā sent a message: 'The Lord was a Khattiya, we are Khattiyas. We are worthy to receive a share of the Lord's remains, and we will make a great stupa for them.'[4]

To settle this conflict, it was decided that the remains of the Buddha would be distributed equally among each of the eight contenders. After receiving their share of the remains, which included the Buddha's canine teeth and his collar and frontal bones, the eight kings enshrined them in separate *stūpas* commemorating the deceased founder of the doctrine. Also enshrined were the urn that had contained the remains of the Buddha and the embers used to cremate the body of the Buddha. In this way, it seems, began the practice of venerating the remains of the Buddha and the parallel development of building *stūpas* by secular rulers to commemorate the deceased Buddha.

The early history of relic veneration, especially the monastic participation in the worship of the remains of the Buddha, however, is a topic of intense scholarly contention. Some have maintained that the members of the monastic community were initially prohibited from venerating the relics of the Buddha. Others argue that the relics of the Buddha were being worshiped by both lay and monastic followers shortly after the death of the Buddha.[5] Similar debate has also ensued regarding the archeological evidence for early monastic participation in the veneration of relics. Gregory Schopen and Kevin Trainor have convincingly demonstrated that donative inscriptions from Sāñcī and Bhārhūt, in eastern India, and rock-cut monas-

teries from western India reveal that the members of the monastic community were venerating *stūpas* and relics since at least the end of the second century B.C.E.[6]

Rarely contested, however, is the role played by Buddhist legends of King Aśoka in the expansion and geographical spread of the relic cult. The Mauryan king Aśoka was recognized as the ideal Buddhist ruler who undertook the pious act of transmitting the teachings of the Buddha into foreign lands. One of the most famous Buddhist deeds ascribed to the Mauryan king was his building of 84,000 *stūpas*. After gathering all the relics that were dispersed following the cremation of the Buddha, King Aśoka is said to have redistributed them and, within one day, built 84,000 commemorative *stūpas* across the Jambudvīpa. Although historically questionable, the pious actions of the Indian king have been emphasized by the members of the foreign Buddhist communities to substantiate the early and legitimate transmission of the doctrine. In Sri Lanka, for example, the establishment of the Buddhist doctrine is linked to a mission from King Aśoka and his donation of Buddhist relics (including a branch from the Bodhi Tree under which the Buddha is supposed to have attained enlightenment) to the Sri Lankan ruler Devānaṃpiyatissa (r. 250–210 B.C.E.). The Aśoka story was also used by the Sri Lankan clergy to authenticate the remains of the Buddha enshrined in that country.[7]

The story of King Aśoka building 84,000 commemorative *stūpas* was similarly employed by the Chinese Buddhist clergy as evidence of early transmission of the doctrine and the "presence" of its founder in their land. "The Chinese naturally concluded," as Zürcher points out, "(1) that China, being a part of the Jambudvīpa, had in the past belonged to Aśoka's empire and consequently had been converted to Buddhism under this king; (2) that the soil of China, if carefully investigated, might appear still to contain some traces of this golden age of Buddhism: remains of the *stūpas* or even the holy relics themselves."[8] While the former notion was often used to validate the belief about the early transmission of Buddhism to China (some going as far back as the Zhou dynasty, 1045?–256 B.C.E.), the latter belief was employed to authenticate relics discovered in China. The alleged miraculous power of the relics, evident from the reports of emission of multicolored lights to the stories describing the restoration of eyesight to blind worshipers of the relics, provided further proof of the authenticity and efficacy of the Buddha relics.

The Chinese Buddhist catalogue *Chu sanzang ji ji* (Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of the Tripiṭaka, T.2145), compiled by the monk Sengyou (435–518) in 515, suggests that the story of Aśoka building 84,000 *stūpas* was known to the Chinese since at least the reign of King Sun Quan (r. 222–252) of the Wu kingdom (222–280). The Sogdian monk Kang Senghui (d. 280), in a dialogue with Sun Quan, is supposed to have narrated Aśoka's accomplishment of building the commemorative monuments. When challenged by the Chinese ruler to demonstrate the power of the Buddha's remains, the Sogdian monk, after three weeks of fasting, produced a miraculous, five-color-emitting relic. Sun Quan then employed various means, including burning the relic in fire, to judge its authenticity. Awed by the fact that the relic was indestructible and indeed miraculous, the Chinese ruler is reported to have constructed the first Buddhist *stūpa* in China at his capital Jianye (present-day Nanjing).[9]

It has been rightly explained by various scholars that this episode of the miraculous appearance of the relic and the construction of the *stūpa* is spurious, "perhaps no more than a popular tale."[10] The story, instead, may illustrate the growing popularity of relic veneration in China during the sixth century, when Sengyou compiled his work. The Buddhist deeds of King Aśoka, particularly his veneration of the relics, became popular in China in the fourth century when a number of hagiographic accounts of the Indian king were rendered into Chinese.[11] In the ensuing period, Aśoka's distribution of the remains of the Buddha and the significance of relic veneration in India were being confirmed and promoted by Chinese pilgrims visiting Buddhist sites in South Asia. Faxian, who made a pilgrimage to India in the early fifth century, for example, not only narrates Aśoka's Buddhist deeds in his travelogue *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, but also gives detailed accounts of the veneration of Buddha's images in Khotan; his spittoon, alms-bowl, and tooth relics in Kucha (both these sites are in Central Asia); the shadow of the Buddha, his parietal bone, and other relics in Uḍḍiyāna, his alms-bowl in Purushapura (both in northern India); and his tooth relic in Sri Lanka. Moreover, one of the texts Faxian translated upon his return to China was the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, which, as noted above, contained the story of the distribution of relics and the building of reliquary monuments by secular rulers.

The *Lotus Sūtra*, perhaps the most influential and widely circulated Buddhist text in China, the first translation of which appeared in 255, advocated making offerings to the relics of the Buddha and

erection of decorated *stūpas* as means to accumulate merit.[12] Other Buddhist texts translated/compiled between the fourth and sixth centuries also explained the methods and merits of venerating relics, the erection of *stūpas*, and the making of Buddhist images. While, for example, in the *Jin'guangming jing* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa*[*uttamarāja*] *Sūtra*, T. 663) the Buddha propounds that venerating his relics would help establish the "most superior field of merit" (*zuishang futian*),[13] in the apocryphal text *Tiwei Poli jing* (Sūtra of Trapuṣa and Bhallika), the Buddha explicitly says that circumambulating *stūpas* can produce five types of merits: (1) a good complexion in the next life, (2) a fine voice, (3) rebirth in heaven, (4) rebirth in a wealthy or noble family, and (5) a path leading to nirvāṇa.[14]

A related development taking place subsequent to the first translations of the Aśoka legend and texts promoting the merits of relic veneration was the frequent "discoveries" in China of miraculous images, sacred remains, and *stūpas* built or relics deposited by the pious Mauryan king.[15] One of the famous stories was about the Chinese monk Huida, who, during the Ningkang reign period (373–376) of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–419), discovered the Buddha's hair and fingernails preserved in a golden casket buried at the base of a *stūpa* in Jiankang (originally Jianye, i.e., present-day Nanjing). It was determined that the *stūpa* was one of the 84,000 that King Aśoka had built and the relics were in fact also deposited by the Indian king.[16]

Less than two centuries later, Emperor Wu (r. 502–549) of the Liang dynasty (502–557), recognized as the one of the most devout Buddhist rulers of China, rebuilt the Aśoka *stūpa* at Jiankang and lavishly venerated the relic housed there.[17] During the veneration, the emperor discovered a golden image at the *stūpa* which, according to an inscription on the object, was sponsored by the daughter of King Aśoka.[18] As Zürcher has concluded, "the 'relics of Aśoka' and the miraculous happenings connected with their discovery served a dual purpose: they proved the existence of a Buddhist period in ancient Chinese history, thus providing the Buddhist clergy with the necessary pedigree and thereby enhancing its prestige, and at the same time they could be interpreted as auspicious omens evoked by the virtuous conduct of the secular ruler."[19] Indeed, Emperor Wu craftily used such Buddhist rituals and paraphernalia to secure the support of the monastic community and the lay Buddhists in asserting his imperial authority over a chaotic and fragmented China.[20]

The popularity of relic and *stūpa* veneration between the fourth and sixth centuries and its key role in political legitimization and in bridging the spatial separation between the Buddhist worlds of India and China are epitomized in the Buddhist activities of Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty.[21] In 580, the very first year of his rise to power in the state of Northern Zhou (557–581), Yang Jian (i.e., Emperor Wen), the future unifier of China, revoked restriction against the Buddhist community that had been instituted by the previous ruler of the kingdom. Then, between 581, when he had taken the title of "Emperor" and established the Sui dynasty, and 589, when he finally managed to consolidate power in both northern and southern China, Emperor Wen authorized the building of new Buddhist monasteries and allowed the renovation of old ones. These monastery-building campaigns were part of Emperor Wen's larger goals of using the doctrine to legitimize his own leadership and for unifying the entire nation under Buddhist ideology.[22]

Emperor Wen seems to have taken a number of other prudent steps to realize his political goals through the use of Buddhist ideology and paraphernalia. First, the Indian monk Narendrayaśas, who lived at the state-sponsored Daxingshan Monastery, produced a translation, sections of which implied that the Sui emperor was a reincarnated bodhisattva.[23] This translated work, known as *Foshuo Dehu zhangzhe jing* (*Śrīgupta Sūtra?*, T. 545) and completed in 583, also implied that the Sui Empire was part of the imaginary Indic continent Jambudvīpa (see below). Two years later, the emperor himself claimed that he had been entrusted by the Buddha to rule China.[24] And after he had unified the northern and southern regions of China and continued his support for Buddhist activities, Emperor Wen was lauded by members of the Chinese clergy as the ideal Buddhist ruler (Ch. Falun wang=Skt. *cakravartin rāja*)—a title commonly associated with King Aśoka.[25] In fact, in order to emulate the Indian king's meritorious deed of erecting 84,000 *stūpas*, Emperor Wen ordered empire-wide distribution of the Buddha's relics on three occasions during the Renshou reign era (in 601, 602, and 604).[26] Arthur Wright summarizes the instructions given by the court on how the processions headed by eminent monks were to travel to various prefectures to erect the commemorative monuments:

> En route they (the eminent monks) were to be accompanied by a secular official, by two servants and five horses, and they

> were each to carry one hundred twenty pounds of frankincense. They were to take with them holy relics and upon arrival select a suitable and important site and there build a reliquary pagoda. Noon of the fifteenth day of the tenth month was set for the simultaneous enshrining of the relics in the thirty pagodas; all the monks and nuns of the empire were to adhere to strict abstinence, and all offices of government in the capital and the country save the military were to suspend operations for seven days while their members engaged in religious services in honor of the relics.[27]

The distribution of relics was followed by reports from prefectures confirming the arrival and enshrining of relics. These reports also included notices of miracles, such as the emission of pentachrome light and healing of diseases, commonly associated with the veneration of relics.[28]

The actions of Emperor Wen, in conjunction with other events of the fourth to sixth centuries, contributed not only to the establishment of the relic/Aśoka cult in China, but, more importantly, they are purported to have attracted Indian clergy to the Buddhist world in China. Already by the beginning of the Sui period there were reports of monks from the Indian subcontinent making pilgrimages to the "Aśokan *stūpas*" in China.[29] During the Renshou period, an Indian monk from Magadha named Shetisina (Jātīsena?) is noted to have arrived in China especially to participate in the relic-distribution campaigns undertaken by Emperor Wen. The monk explained that he had come to China after a stone inscription discovered in his native country foreboded Emperor Wen's relic-distribution campaigns. The inscription, according to Jātīsena, stated that, "In the kingdom of Zhendan (i.e., China) in the East, [under the dynasty] called the Great Sui, [in the] city called Daxing, the king named [Yang] Jian would plan to establish [the teachings of] Three Jewels [and] erect reliquary *stūpas*."[30] Moreover, in a move to bolster this perception of China as a legitimate Buddhist realm, Emperor Wen (as noted in the previous chapter) ordered the translation into Sanskrit of at least two Chinese works describing his empire and the relics enshrined in Sui territories. The Sanskrit translations of these works, entitled *Guojia xiangrui lu* and *Sheli rui tu jing*, were said to have been sanctioned on the request of an Indian monk from Rājagṛha.[31]

Although the validity of the above episodes implying the knowledge of or the desire to learn about Emperor Wen's Buddhist activities among the Indian clergy is difficult to ascertain, the partial success in projecting China as a sacred Buddhist land can be discerned from the requests by the Korean kingdoms, Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla, to the Sui court for the relics of the Buddha.[32] It must be admitted, however, that the absence of a strong Buddhist state in contemporary India, a situation that persisted until the establishment of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal in c. 750, could have made the flourishing Buddhist world of China during the Sui, and then under Empress Wu in the latter half of the seventh century, immensely attractive to the Indian clergy as well.[33] In fact, the strongest evidence of Indian recognition of China as a legitimate Buddhist realm comes from the pilgrimage activities of South Asian monks at Mount Wutai during the Tang dynasty, a topic discussed later in this chapter.

Relic Worship at the Famen Monastery

The practice of relic veneration in China evolved and diversified rapidly after the sixth century. Some of the most significant developments were the penetration of acts of self-immolation/self-mutilation of body parts into the relic-veneration ceremonies. The use of relics for their therapeutic values, the emphasis on the number and size of the relics, and the employment of the relics in esoteric rites also became widespread. Many of these developments are apparent in the relic veneration at the Famen Monastery, located in what once was the Fufeng commandery in the Qi prefecture during the Tang dynasty (present-day Fufeng county, Shaanxi province).

The Famen Monastery relic, purported to be the finger bone of the Buddha, is known to have been venerated inside the Tang imperial palace on six separate occasions. The records of the imperial procession carrying the relics from the Famen Monastery to the Tang court, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, the severe criticism by the Confucian official Han Yu (768–824) against the court's participation in the lavish veneration activities, and the recent excavation of the crypt of the monastery containing the Tang relic along with a large number of precious gifts have all given notoriety to the Famen Monastery relic and the activities surrounding its veneration.

The Beginning of Relic Veneration at the Famen Monastery

The origin of relic veneration ceremonies at the Famen Monastery is a complex issue that must be addressed at the outset because it clearly illustrates the ingenuity of the Chinese in recasting Buddhist ideas and practices transmitted from India. Since there are no comparable notices of imperial veneration of the relic housed at the Famen Monastery before or after the Tang dynasty, the question that arises is why did the Monastery and the finger bone of the Buddha housed there attract the attention of the Tang rulers?

In his attempt to explain a similar question, Huang Chi-chiang has suggested that the Tang rulers opted to follow the tradition of venerating finger bone relics, common among the previous rulers of northern China, over the worship of tooth relics, popular with the courts in the south.[34] Huang concludes, "If there were indeed two traditions in the imperial worship of the Buddha's relics, apparently the monks at the Fa-men ssu (Famen si) wanted to make the finger bone the dominant tradition because they claimed that the finger bone at the temple was the same bone relic that had been worshipped by the emperors in the Northern Wei and the Sui. They managed to build this link between the T'ang and the pre-T'ang relic of the Fa-men ssu by reaffirming the lore, using it to substantiate the continuity of the northern tradition."[35] Huang's explanation, although plausible, lacks contemporary evidence to confirm that the Tang rulers preferred finger bone relics over other types of bodily remains of the Buddha circulating in China.

The earliest sources on the Famen relic are extremely vague about the type of the remains housed at the Monastery.[36] In fact, no specific mention of a finger bone was made when the relic was first discovered by Zhang Liang (d. 646),[37] the governor of the Qi prefecture, in the fifth year of the Zhenguan reign era (631). Daoxuan, writing around 664, reports that the governor had retrieved a "bone" (*gu*) relic of the Buddha along with two inscribed tablets dated to the [Northern] Zhou-[Western] Wei period.[38] Then, thirty years later in 660, when the relic was brought to the imperial palace for the first time for special veneration by the emperor, the sacred remains from the Monastery is described only as "shaped like a small finger" (*xingzhuang ru xiao zhi*).[39] Other sources mention the existence of several relics, sometimes as many as eight or nine, at the Monastery. In addition, the

first imperial veneration of the Famen relic in 660 was conducted together with a parietal bone (*dinggu*) of the Buddha, that was brought from India by Wang Xuance.[40] While the Famen relic was placed in a golden casket and returned to the monastery in the second year of the Longshao reign era (662), the parietal bone remained at the palace.[41] There is no indication from Daoxuan's notice of this initial imperial veneration of the Famen relic that the Tang emperor in any way distinguished or attached more importance to the finger bone than to the parietal-bone relic. It will be apparent from the discussion below that the emperor may have been less interested in the specific type of relic he venerated than about its efficacy.

Even the reports on the next two occasions of court-sponsored veneration of the Famen relic, in 704 and 760 respectively, fail to reveal the Tang rulers' preference for the finger bone to other bodily remains of the Buddha.[42] In fact, the veneration of a variety of other bodily remains of the Buddha seems to be common during the Tang period. Daoxuan reports of at least fifteen sites throughout the Tang empire that contained what he calls "true body" (*zhenshen*) of the Buddha.[43] In 841, according to the Japanese monk Ennin, there were four monasteries in the Tang capital that housed tooth relics, all of which attracted lavish donations from the public.[44] Ennin also notes that there were three other monasteries in China that held finger bone relics, none of them, however, attracting similar attention from the Tang rulers.[45]

Rather, there may have been an alternate justification for the exceptional fame of the Famen relic during the Tang period. It seems that the site of the Famen Monastery itself had a close association with the Tang rulers. In fact, the Qi prefecture as well as the Fufeng commandery, the site of the Famen Monastery, had special meaning to Emperor Taizong—the reigning emperor at the time the relic was first exhumed. Taizong's father, Emperor Gaozu, served as a prefect of the Qi prefecture under the Sui government. Taizong himself was born in Wugong County, located near the Fufeng commandery. At the age of four, when Taizong and his father were in the Qi prefecture, a scholar predicted that by the age of twenty Taizong would "bring relief to the contemporary world and pacify the people" (*jishi anmin*). It is from this prediction, we are told, that Emperor Taizong got his first name "Shimin."[46] Then, in early 618, a few months before his father officially founded the Tang dynasty, Taizong had successfully defeated the rebel forces of Xue Ju at the

Fufeng commandery.[47] Daoxuan reports that Taizong, prior to leading his army into the battle, had ordained eighty monks from the local region, suggesting, perhaps, that Taizong's victory against the rebel forces had derived from his meritorious act. Having no place to reside in the war-torn region, the newly ordained monks were invited to live at the Famen Monastery. Within a few years, however, the Monastery began to crumble after a rampant fire reportedly destroyed many of its halls.[48]

The fortunes of the Monastery revived soon after Zhang Liang paid a visit to the dilapidated halls in 631. Noticing that the Monastery had only an unfinished *stūpa* foundation, the governor sought permission from the emperor to complete the structure. The *stūpa* that Zhang erected with Taizong's consent and financial help seems to have been the first commemorative monument actually established at the Famen Monastery.[49] Since Emperor Taizong had little personal interest in Buddhism at this time and had a few months earlier issued an edict questioning some of the practices of the Buddhist clergy,[50] it is unlikely that he would have readily provided funds for Buddhist activities at an obscure monastery. It is possible, therefore, that Taizong may have sanctioned the renovation of the monastery because the governor successfully reminded the emperor of his past connections to the Fufeng region and especially the monks he had ordained before his victory against the rebel forces.

During the construction work, Zhang, it is reported, learned about an "ancient legend" claming that the relic underneath the *stūpa*—when publicly displayed every thirty years—would make all sentient beings joyful and virtuous.[51] Upon learning about this legend, the governor requested, and was subsequently granted, permission from the emperor to put the relic on public display. Thus began, without any Indian antecedent, the tradition of venerating the Famen relic every thirty years.

When exhuming the relic, Zhang Liang had also discovered (as noted above) two inscribed tablets dating from the sixth century.[52] These two inscriptions seem to have played a salient role in linking the Famen Monastery to the Tang rulers. Although Daoxuan reports that the two tablets, now lost, were undecipherable, they were the likely source for two later inscriptions installed at the Monastery. A *stūpa* inscription of 778 records that in 555, the regional governor of Qi prefecture, named Tuoba Yu, performed Buddhist ceremonies, renovated religious monuments, and ordained monks. The second

inscription, dated to the ninth century, similarly reports that Tuoba Yu laid the foundation for a *stūpa* at the Famen Monastery and made offerings to the site in the sixth century.[53]

These inscriptions also report that during the Kaihuang reign period (581–604) of the Sui dynasty and again at the end of the Renshou period, Li Min (576–614), the grandson-in-law of the Sui emperor Wendi, renovated the *stūpa* foundation and the Famen monastic complex. Li Min was a nephew of the famous Sui general Li Mu, who claimed to have descended from the Longxi Li clan.[54] Kegasawa Yasunori's study of an epitaph from the Northern Zhou period found within the Famen monastic complex suggests that Li Mu and his family members similarly used the area for religious purposes.[55] Since the Tang rulers also claimed to have descended from the Longxi Li clan,[56] the Famen monastic complex may have been of special familial interest to the reigning Tang rulers. This would perhaps explain why Taizong and the later Tang rulers paid greater attention to the Famen Monastery and the relic housed therein than scores of other bodily relics available throughout China and even those especially brought from Indian monasteries.

The Alternating Usage of the Famen Relic

In 659, the members of the Chinese clergy seeking to put the Famen relic on public display for the second time invoked the legend of venerating it once every thirty years. Emperor Gaozong not only gave permission to display the relic to the public, but also brought it into the palace for special veneration. The reason for this unique act of "welcoming the relic" (*yinggu*) inside the palace for veneration may be related to Emperor Gaozong's poor health. Since the beginning of 657, the emperor had been unable to fulfill his court duties and was nursing his sickness at the eastern capital, Luoyang. In the seventh lunar month (August-September) of 657 the emperor had expressed an interest in the Indian longevity doctor Nārāyaṇasvāmin. Court officials, as pointed out in the previous chapter, discouraged the emperor from taking drugs concocted by the Indian doctor and had him return to India. Failing to recover from his sickness in the next two years, the emperor seems to have turned to the remains of the Buddha for miraculous relief. Indeed, in East Asia, the healing of sickness and the regeneration of the body of the ruler were considered to be some of the main potencies of the remains of the Buddha.[57] Even within the Indian Buddhist tradition, the relics of the

Buddha were proclaimed to have worked miraculous cures for the diseased and plague-infected population.[58]

As noted previously, the Famen Monastery relic in 660 was venerated in the palace together with the parietal bone brought from India. The two relics, however, failed to work a miracle cure because within months the emperor suffered a massive stroke leaving him temporarily paralyzed and with impaired vision.[59] The inefficacy of the relic may have been one of the reasons why the practice of displaying the Famen relic every thirty years was temporarily discontinued. This is evident from the fact that Empress Wu Zetian, who employed various Buddhist paraphernalia to legitimize her usurpation of the Tang throne in 685 (see below), seemed uninterested in displaying the relic after thirty years had elapsed. It is possible that in addition to the relic's questionable efficacy, she associated it with the Tang rulers and not her own newly established Zhou dynasty.[60]

It was, however, in 704, when Wu Zetian had become seriously ill and had turned to Daoism to find life-extending elixir,[61] that the Famen relic was again displayed to the public and venerated inside the palace. The relic was first brought from the Famen Monastery to the Western Capital, Chang'an, and housed at the Chongfu Monastery—which functioned as the ancestral temple of Empress Wu. Then, early in the new lunar year, the relic was welcomed into the "Divine Capital"—Luoyang—and placed in the *mingtang* (Luminous Hall).[62] Since the third story of this Luminous Hall functioned as, and was meant to symbolize, a Buddhist *stūpa*,[63] it was an appropriate location to house the relic. The Famen relic remained in Luoyang until 708, even after the deposing and subsequent death of Wu Zetian.[64]

It must be pointed out here that the person in charge of bringing the relic to Empress Wu's palace was Fazang (643–712), a monk of Sogdian origin and one of the most important figures in the Huayan school of Chinese Buddhism. Fazang had intimate connections to the Famen Monastery before he became one of the favorite monks of Wu Zetian. At the age of sixteen *sui* (i.e., in 658), Fazang is said to have burned one of his fingers as an offering to the relic at the Famen Monastery.[65] And in 704, when he arrived at Famen Monastery to retrieve the relic, Fazang is reported to have "destroyed his liver" (*huigan*) as an offering to the sacred remains.[66]

Fazang, however, was not the first one to perform such acts of self-mutilation at the Famen Monastery. When Zhang Liang first

displayed the relic in 631, a few members of the audience are also reported to have burnt their fingers as offerings to the relic.[67] The public display of the relic in 704 is also known to have prompted several acts of self-mutilation by visitors and onlookers. In fact, the practice of burning fingers at the Famen Monastery continued during the later periods as well.[68] James Benn seems correct in observing that these episodes of burning of fingers and mutilation of body parts were associated with "overzealous cultic practice" and derived from "Sinitic apocrypha."[69] The intent of these self-mutilators may have ranged from the desire to establish good merit to other religious purposes.

According to one anecdote, a person who burnt his finger when the Famen relic was first displayed to the public did it because the relic was invisible to him. However, as soon as he offered his finger, the relic became distinctly visible.[70] A more metaphysical reason behind the acts of self-mutilation in front of Buddhist relics is given by John Kieschnick. He suggests that through self-mutilations the adherents attempted to draw on perceived power of the relic and "transfer or internalize the sanctity of the sacred objects." Kieschnick further explains this point by stating that, "Self-mutilation before relics of the Buddha was not only a sacrifice; it was an appropriation. By burning himself, the adept drew on the power of the Buddha's body, purifying his own body and transforming himself into a holy, living relic. Hence, while negative Buddhist attitudes towards the body as a source of defilement certainly encouraged the destruction and mutilation of the body, there was at the same time a more positive interpretation of the act.

"In other words, as in the case of cremation, self-mutilation and suicide were not merely attempts to destroy an impure body, but also to create a new and better one."[71]

During the time the Famen Monastery relic was first displayed in 631 and until 708, when Emperor Zhongzong, after the death of Wu Zetian, returned the relic to the Monastery, a number of new and indigenous practices had become part of relic veneration in China. While some of these practices seem to be unique to the veneration of the Famen Monastery relic, others point to the continued evolution of Buddhist doctrine in China. The displaying of the Famen relic every thirty years and venerating it inside the imperial palace were, for example, unique to the Famen Monastery relic. The practice of mutilating body parts as offering to the relic, on the other hand, testifies to the amalgam of relic veneration and indigenous practices.

It can be also assumed from the first two episodes of relic veneration by the Tang rulers that neither Gaozong nor Wu Zetian employed the Buddha's remains for the legitimization of temporal authority, as had been done in the past by Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty. Rather, the two Tang rulers seem to have been more interested in the relic's purported therapeutic value. Indeed, the relic was displayed and welcomed into the palace not at a time of political instability or natural disasters, but when the two rulers were suffering from severe illnesses and searching for a miraculous cure. In the case of Gaozong, the veneration of the Famen relic coincided with his interest in an Indian longevity doctor and the merit-making mission to India undertaken by Wang Xuance (see the previous chapter). Furthermore, in 705, when the relic was brought to the palace for Wu Zetian, perhaps as a last resort, she had already taken up residence in the Longevity Hall (*Changsheng yuan*), the ancestral chamber and room where the Tang rulers would pass their final days of life.[72]

A plausible link can also be established between the therapeutic function of the Famen relic, the act of burning fingers at the Monastery, and the Buddhist practice of invoking Bhaiṣajyaguru, the bodhisattva of healing. Those seeking good health, remedy from severe sickness, and longevity commonly performed rituals invoking Bhaiṣajyaguru. The *Lotus Sūtra* records that in one of his past lives, Bhaiṣajyaguru, in order to pay homage to the remains of the Buddha, burnt his hands in front of 84,000 *stūpas*. "This act," as Raoul Birnbaum explains, "can be seen as the ultimate in the practice of *dāna-pāramitā*, the 'perfection of giving.'" Birnbaum also points out that, while the act described in the *Lotus Sūtra* was symbolic, the East Asian clergy took it in a "literal sense," meaning that it "served for some as justification for actual suicide or for the offering of fingers to the Buddha."[73] Thus, while those performing acts of self-mutilation during the veneration of the Famen relic may have sought to achieve perfect merit for themselves, the Tang rulers seemed more interested in seeking remedies from sickness and to prolong their lives.

The practice and the objective of relic veneration at the Famen Monastery underwent significant change after the middle of the eighth century. The last four episodes of imperial veneration by the Tang rulers (in 760 by Suzong [r. 752–762], in 790 by Dezong [r. 779–805], in 819 by Xianzong [r. 805–820], and by Yizong [r.859–873] in 873) indicate that esoteric rituals and the notions of

huguo (protection of the nation) and bringing peace and prosperity to the people had permeated the practice.[74] While the introduction and subsequent popularity of esoteric Buddhism was responsible for the former development, the use of the relic for national protection and to address the concerns of the society can be attributed to the recurrence of political upheavals in China. In 757, for example, a few days after the rebel leader An Lushan was assassinated, bringing to an end one of the most forceful and devastating rebellions against the Tang empire, Emperor Suzong ordered that the Famen relic be brought to the imperial palace for veneration.[75] The emperor, who gave credit to the supernatural powers of Buddhism for the victory against the rebel forces and was himself consecrated as a *cakravartin* king, may have sought the help of the relic to preserve peace and tranquility during the recovery phase of the empire.[76]

The spread of esoteric doctrines catalyzed the ritualistic aspect of Buddhism in China, reinforced the image of Buddhism as thaumaturgy, and significantly expanded the list of Buddhist-related items traded between India and China. The systematic and successful transmission of esoteric doctrines owes much to the work of three Indian monks in eighth-century China, Shanwuwei (Śubhakarasiṃha, d. 735), Vajrabodhi, and Bukong Jin'gang (Amoghavajra, d. 774).[77] Although none of these monks seems to be directly involved in the veneration of the Famen Monastery relic, the impact of their esoteric teachings is evident from the objects enclosed in the crypt of the Monastery.[78]

Han Jinke's meticulous study of the excavated objects, many of them made of gold and silver and donated during the last Tang veneration of the relic, illustrate that they were arranged in the form of a *maṇḍala*, a concentric layout symbolizing the Buddhist universe.[79] Maṇḍalic diagrams or altars were employed by esoteric masters in rituals as means to link a patron to the cosmic reality. Gold and silver objects, gems, crystals, and other precious materials, items found in the Famen Monastery crypt, were commonly used as accessories in such esoteric ceremonies. The engravings on many of the donated objects also indicate the use of maṇḍalic symbolism and the presence of various esoteric imagery and deities, including Vairocana, Gaṇeśa, and Kṣitigarbha. Suffice it to say that when the crypt at the Famen Monastery was sealed for the final time in the ninth century, the veneration of the finger relic was conducted according to esoteric rites.

Following the fall of the Tang dynasty, however, the Famen relic was never again displayed to the public, nor did it attract comparable attention from subsequent ruling families. Probable reasons for this neglect are: (1) the severe criticism leveled by Han Yu, a noted Confucian official, against the ceremony and the "excessive reaction" it reportedly evoked among the public; and (2) the misfortune the performance of relic-veneration seems to have brought upon the reigning emperors.

Angered by both the imperial participation in relic veneration and those who engaged in self-mutilation, Han Yu, in a memorial presented to Emperor Xianzong in the first lunar month of the fourteenth year of the Yuanhe period (January-February 819), deprecated Buddhism as a "barbarian" and "fraudulent" doctrine. The Buddha, Han Yu argued, did not dress like the Chinese, did not speak the language of the sagely kings of China, did not follow the virtues of loyalty and filial piety, and thus was an immoral person. As to the specific ceremony of venerating the Famen relic, Han Yu criticized the excessive exuberance of the gift-givers and the abnormal practice of self-mutilation during the public display of the relic. He especially voiced his displeasure with the emperor's participation in the veneration and the act of housing the relic in the imperial palace. Pointing to the Confucian emphasis on maintaining a spatial distance between the living and the dead, he asked, "This dry bone is left over from his (the Buddha's) baneful funerary remains. How could it be proper that it should be caused to enter the forbidden apartments of the imperial palace?"[80] The immediate reaction to Han Yu's criticism was so severe that the emperor at once ordered his execution. Within six days, however, the sentence was reduced and the critic was exiled to the southernmost territory of the Tang empire. After a few months, when Han Yu offered a formal apology, Emperor Xianzong, wanting eventually to pardon the exiled minister, transferred him to a province near the capital.

Little more than a year after Han Yu had presented his memorial and before he could receive a full pardon, Xianzong died of an overdose of longevity drugs. The emperor's death shortly after the veneration of Famen relic, in some ways vindicated Han Yu's contention about the dire consequences of housing the finger bone in the imperial palace. Thus, when Emperor Muzong (r. 820–824) succeeded to the Tang throne, he brought Han Yu back to the capital and appointed him to a high-ranking position. A few decades later,

in 844, Emperor Wuzong (r. 841–846) banned all offerings and pilgrimages to sites housing the relics of the Buddha, including the Famen Monastery.[81] Then, in the third lunar month of the fourteenth year of the Xiantong period (March-April 873), when Emperor Yizong ordered monks to revive the tradition of venerating the Famen Monastery relic inside the imperial palace, it is reported that yellow mud started pouring down with rain.[82] Alarmed by the inauspicious sign, officials quickly reminded the emperor that Emperor Xianzong, almost a half a century before him, had died soon after he venerated the relic at the palace, and advised him to rescind his order.[83]

The adamant emperor, however, remarked that he would venerate the relic even if it meant his death and had the relic brought to the imperial palace. The lavish rites that followed and the donations that poured in are evident from the objects discovered in the Famen crypt. Found inside the crypt, for example, were more than one hundred and twenty gold and silver ritual vessels, twenty objects made of glass (many of them imported), about sixteen ceramic utensils, and scores of silk garments.[84] An accompanying inscription listing the names and titles of the donors and the date of donation reveals that a majority of these donations were given during the ceremony ordered by Yizong. Within three and a half months of the ceremony, however, Emperor Yizong died of a severe sickness. Court officials did not formally bring up the relevance of his death to the veneration, but the finger bone at the Famen Monastery never regained royal favor.

The evolution of relic worship in China had, from the third century to the time Emperor Yizong venerated the Famen relic in the ninth century, unfolded through at least four stages. In the first stage (in the third and fourth centuries), relic worship and the legends of King Aśoka were intimately linked. Together they were employed to establish the presence of the Buddha and legitimize the spread of Buddhist doctrines to China. During this stage, Indian and other foreign monks played a crucial part in supplying the relics to China and translating canonical texts that explained the merits of venerating the relics of the Buddha.

In the second stage, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, relics were not only used by the Chinese rulers to legitimize their political authority, but widely venerated by the laity in order to establish religious merit. The frequent use of relics, *stūpas*, and other Buddhist paraphernalia during this phase helped to bridge the tem-

poral and spatial gaps separating the Buddhist worlds of India and China. In fact, by the late sixth century, the relics venerated by the Chinese may have already accomplished their elementary role of asserting the presence of the Buddha in China.

With the presence of the Buddha fully asserted, in the third stage, from the seventh through the mid-eighth centuries, relic veneration in China assumed a momentum of its own. The reasons for venerating the remains diversified and indigenous practices, such as self-mutilation, were injected into the ceremonies. Relics thus functioned less as objects that legitimized political authority or the doctrine itself, but rather were venerated mostly for their therapeutic and merit-bestowing values.

The fourth stage of relic veneration, from the middle of the eighth to late ninth centuries, witnessed the prevalence of esoteric Buddhism and the resumption of political upheavals in China. The esoteric rites and rituals popularized in China by Indian esoteric masters seem to have resulted in the extensive use of relics. In fact, relics became one of the key ingredients of esoteric rites. They were used in rituals ranging from protecting the state to curing sicknesses. The esoteric texts even professed that in the absence of the remains of the Buddha, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, or even clean sand and bamboo or wood shaped like relics could be substituted.[85] The expanded use of relics and its broad definition by the esoteric masters not only furthered the trade in religious items between India and China, but also ensured the everlasting presence of the deceased Buddha in China.

Because the increasing availability of relics, either through miraculous discoveries or their frequent supply by Indian monks, envoys, and traders, assured the Chinese Buddhist community of the presence of the Buddha in their own realm, the attraction toward the remains of the Buddha housed in Indian monasteries and the aspiration to visit those sites gradually abated in China. In fact, throughout the process of the evolution of relic veneration, it had been a resolute desire of the Chinese clergy to affirm China's position as an extension of the Buddhist world, inhabited in the past, present, and future by important Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and temporal followers of the doctrine. The relics miraculously discovered in China not only proved the early and legitimate transmission of the doctrine, but also offered the Chinese adherents an opportunity to experience the presence of the Buddha in their own land. The Chinese prophecies

about the appearance of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai in Shaanxi province, the identification of Avalokiteśvara with Mount Putuo in Zhejiang,[86] the portrayal of Mount Emei in Sichuan as an abode of Samantabhadra, and Mount Jiuhua as that of bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, on the other hand, served to transform China into a true Buddhist realm.[87] The focus of the next section is on Mount Wutai because in the eighth century it had emerged as one of the most important Buddhist pilgrimage sites outside South Asia.

Mount Wutai, the Abode of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī

The origins of Mañjuśrī, the bodhisattva of meditation and perfect wisdom, are obscure. He is often associated with the celestial musician called Pañcaśikha (Five Peaks), and usually described as a bodhisattva dwelling in a mountain with five peaks.[88] Mañjuśrī comes to prominence and is best known for his role in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, a text compiled no later than the first century of the Common Era. In the first half of this text, Mañjuśrī emerges as the only competent bodhisattva, among all other prominent buddhas, bodhisattvas, and disciples of the Buddha, qualified to visit the lay Buddhist Vimalakīrti and inquire about his illness. In the second half of the text, Mañjuśrī, serving as an interlocutor, prompts Vimalakīrti to expound the major teachings of the Mahāyāna tradition. While the primary aim of the text was to outline the main themes of Mahāyāna teachings, it was also instrumental in popularizing the image of Mañjuśrī.[89]

In other Mahāyāna texts, Mañjuśrī appears as one of the most learned and benevolent beings. In the *Lotus Sūtra*, for example, he is portrayed as more knowledgeable than even the future Buddha. He is also known as a bodhisattva with awesome power to protect, a savior of people destined for purgatory, and a skilled converter of sentient beings to the teachings of the Buddha.[90] Stories about the bodhisattva and his abilities seem to have spread to China by the latter half of the second century when the Scythian monk Zhi Chan (Lokakṣema?) translated the now lost version of *Sūraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing*) into Chinese.[91] During the same period, Yan Fotiao completed one of the first translations of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* (which like Lokakṣema's *Sūraṃgamasamādhi Sūtra* is no longer extant).[92] But it was the translation of *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (T. 463),

attributed to the fourth-century lay Buddhist Nie Daozhen, which promoted the initial belief in the bodhisattva's presence in China.[93]

The Emergence of Mount Wutai as the Present Dwelling of Mañjuśrī

In *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra,* Mañjuśrī is prophesized to appear at the so-called "Snow Mountain" (Ch. Xueshan; Skt. Himavat) four hundred fifty years after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha. It is also foreboded in this text that after his own nirvāṇa, the remains of Mañjuśrī would be found at the Diamond Peak (*Vajrakūṭa*) in the Fragrant Mountain (Ch. Xiangshan; Skt. Gandhamādana).[94] Although the Snow and Fragrant mountains originally were thought to be part of the ranges in the Himalayan chain, the Chinese clergy, no doubt deliberately, construed that the prophecy meant the Chinese mountain Wutai. There were, in fact, a number of analogies between the mountains mentioned in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* prophecy and Mount Wutai that the Chinese clergy (and their South Asian collaborators) ingeniously used to support their claim. For example, the fact that Mount Wutai was covered with snow throughout the year, even during the summer months, was used to draw a comparison to the "Snow Mountain" in the prophecy. Moreover, the five terraces of Mount Wutai and the lake located within the Middle Terrace fit the description of the five peaks of the mythical mountain Gandhamādana surrounding the lake Anavatapta in the center. And finally, translated, the word "Wutai" (Five Terraces) could be equated to Pañcaśikha (Five Peaks), the original Indian name of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[95]

In the first quarter of the fifth century, Buddhabhadra's compilation of the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* (*Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* T. 278) appears to have furnished further justification for those trying to associate Mañjuśrī's prophetic abode with Mount Wutai. The *Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* parts of which were written in Central Asia,[96] notes that, "In the northeast there is a place where bodhisattvas live. It is called Clear-and-Cold Mountain. In the past, various bodhisattvas would often dwell within [this mountain]. Now present there is the bodhisattva called Mañjuśrī."[97] Clear-and-Cold Mountain (*Qingliang shan*) was in fact an alternate name for Mount Wutai. Étienne Lamotte has persuasively argued that Buddhabhadra and his collaborators deliberately interpolated this reference to Clear-and-Cold Mountain when rendering the Indian text into Chinese.[98] In time, this passage in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* became the most commonly used "canonical"

reference for the Chinese clergy emphasizing the significance of Mount Wutai as the abode of Mañjuśrī.[99]

The fact that the Chinese mountain had already become renowned as the abode of Mañjuśrī in the seventh century is evident from the following report given by Daoxuan in around 664:

> Mount Wutai, in southeastern Dai prefecture, has been known since ancient [times] as an abode of divine spirits. The mountain is three hundred tricents square [in area]. The [mountain]-peak has precipitous slopes [and is] lofty and steep. [It also] has five tall terraces. Grass and trees do not grow on their summits; and pine and cypress, along with other splendid trees, flourish in the valleys below. The mountain is extremely cold. [In the] south it is known as the Clear-and-Cold Mountain. [A] Clear-and-Cold prefecture [has also been] established there.
>
> It is clearly noted in *Sūtras* that Mañju[śrī] will, with five hundred divine beings, [after the nirvāṇa of the Buddha] proceed to the Clear-and-Cold Snowy Mountain. This [mountain] is that very site. That is why, since the ancient times scholars seeking the Way have frequented this mountain. Historical traces and numinous grottos which are distinctly visible [on the mountain], were not established in vain.[100]

Indeed, by manipulating Buddhist texts and adding Indic paraphernalia to the mountain, the Chinese clergy had, by the mid-seventh century, successfully transformed Mount Wutai into a sacred Buddhist site. In fact, they had created an Indic landscape and a miniature Buddhist world on the Chinese mountain. Each of the terraces of the mountain were known to provide marvelous views of the earthly as well as the imaginary Buddhist worlds—from the river Ganges to the Japanese islands, and to the region beyond the Northern Dipper. The mountain itself resembled Gṛdhrakūṭa, the hill which is often portrayed in Buddhist texts as one of the sacred sites where the Buddha disseminated his teachings. Within the hills and gorges of the Chinese mountain were temples, halls, and caves, places where the past seven Buddhas, divine dragons, and other Buddhist divinities manifested themselves. Mount Wutai also contained the dwelling cave of the Nārāyana, the Buddhicized Brahmanical god Viśnu, the Diamond Grotto which purportedly led to the realm of paradise, and the site where Mañjuśrī and Vimalakīrti allegedly discussed the main teach-

ings of Mahāyāna. The whole mountain, moreover, was said to be covered by the aroma of Indian incense.

Because the mountain had been recognized as a sacred pilgrimage site, Chinese clergy, as Mary Anne Cartelli has correctly observed, did not have to "travel to India to encounter the Buddhist doctrine; the experience could be obtained firsthand at Mount Wutai."[101] The Chinese mountain, however, not only enticed the Chinese clergy, but also drew the attention of the members of Indian and other foreign Buddhist communities. By the ninth century, Buddhist pilgrims from Japan, Korea, and South Asia were frequenting Mount Wutai, acknowledged by the contemporary clergy as one of the holiest sites in the Buddhist realm.

Indian Monks and Mount Wutai

One of the first South Asian monks to make a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai was Shijiamiduoluo (Śākyamitra?, d. 569–?). Originally a native of Sri Lanka, Śākyamitra studied at the Mahābodhi Monastery in India before arriving in China during the Linde reign period (664–666). The ninety-four-year-old monk was first lodged at the Court of State Ceremonial, where he undertook translation activities. Then, in the second year of the Qianfeng period (667), he traveled to Mount Wutai.[102] Later, during the Yifeng reign period (676–679), two unnamed Indian monks are also reported to have visited Mount Wutai.[103] A fourth South Asian monk, called Juduo (Jīta?), made a pilgrimage to the Chinese mountain during the Xianheng reign period (670–674).[104] Indeed, by the last quarter of the seventh century, as evidenced by the Chinese pilgrim Yijing's record (describing his travels in India between 671 and 695), the members of the Indian Buddhist community were apparently aware of the legends surrounding the presence of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai.[105]

Three seventh-century South and Central Asian monks in Tang China, the Khotanese Shichanantuo (Śikṣānanda?), the South Indian Putiliuzhi (d. 727?), Bodhiruci (Bodhiruci, d. 727), and the Kaśmīri monk Fotuoboli (Buddhapāli?), seem to have played a significant role in legitimizing the Mañjuśrī lore at Mount Wutai and its dissemination to India. These monks arrived in China at a time when Empress Wu had usurped the Tang court and, as is detailed below, was employing Buddhist doctrines to legitimize her authority. Extensive use of Indic themes and paraphernalia and an unprecedented growth of Buddhist doctrines and practices in China marked Empress

Wu's reign. Within this context, the affirmation of Mañjuśrī's presence in China by South Asian monks served a dual purpose. First, it contributed to Wu Zetian's temporal goal of creating a Buddhist world in China in which she could be portrayed as a *cakravartin* ruler. Secondly, for the Chinese clergy, the attestation contributed to dispelling their borderland complex. Śikṣānanda, Bodhiruci, and Buddhapāli were all part of this endeavor to transform China into a central Buddhist realm ruled by Empress Wu, who, as we shall see in the next section, was presented as the female incarnation of the future Buddha.

Among these three monks, only Buddhapāli is reported to have made a special pilgrimage—not once but twice—to Mount Wutai. The Indian monk is noted to have heard stories about the presence of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai when he was still in Kaśmīr. In the first year of the Yifeng reign period (676), he reached China with the specific aim of paying obeisance to the bodhisattva dwelling at Mount Wutai. Pouring tears of joy in realization that his wish was about to come true,[106] Buddhapāli prostrated himself facing Mount Wutai when, as various versions of the Kaśmīri monk's pilgrimage tells us, an old man suddenly emerged from the mountain. Speaking in an Indian language (*Poluomen yu*), the old man asked if the Indian monk had brought a copy of *[Sarvadurgatipariśodhana]uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* (*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*) with him.[107] That specific text, according to the old man, was the only one that could atone for the bad deeds committed by the sentient beings in the "land of the Han" (*Handi*, i.e., China). When Buddhapāli replied that he had only come to pay obeisance to Mañjuśrī and carried no texts with him, the old man, apparently an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, instructed that if the monk really wished to see the bodhisattva he must first return to the Western kingdom (*Xiguo*, i.e., India), fetch the *dhāraṇī* text, and have it translated into Chinese.

In the second year of the Yongheng reign period (683), Buddhapāli returned to China, this time with the *dhāraṇī* text mentioned by the old man. He then sought Wu Zetian's permission to translate the text into Chinese.[108] With the court's support, we are told, the text was translated and the original Sanskrit version returned to Buddhapāli. Taking the original text, Buddhapāli traveled to Mount Wutai and entered the Diamond Grotto never to come out again.[109] This story is narrated in the preface to the Chinese translation of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* (T. 967) attributed to Buddhapāli. The tale became widely popular among the Buddhist pilgrims visiting Mount

Wutai in the eighth and ninth centuries.[110] It is unclear, however, if the story of Buddhapāli's return to India was real or a fabrication of the contemporary Buddhist clique attempting to authenticate the text by indicating the existence of a Sanskrit original.[111] It is likely that the story was concocted by the Chinese clergy to promote Mount Wutai as the abode of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In fact, Antonino Forte has suggested that this entire episode was "an integral part of a far-reaching political project whose aim was to transform China from a peripheral to a central area of Buddhist civilization."[112]

The arrival and subsequent contributions of Śikṣānanda to the Mount Wutai lore are more conspicuous. The Khotanese monk was personally invited by Empress Wu to retranslate the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* Śikṣānanda arrived in China in 695 and was housed a monastery in Luoyang with a telling name—Monastery of the Buddha's Prophecy (Foshoujisi). It was at this monastery that many of the activities related to legitimizing Empress Wu's usurpation through Buddhist prophecies were carried out by monks including Xue Huaiyi (d. 695), Bodhiruci, and the famous Chinese pilgrim Yijing.[113] Within four years, Śikṣānanda produced a new rendition of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, with sections that were clearly interpolated in China. In the new translation, the episode about Mañjuśrī's appearance at Mount Wutai (recorded as Clear-and-Cold Mountain) in China was distinctly laid out.[114] In fact, shortly after the translation was completed, Empress Wu, by sanctioning the restoration of the Clear and Cold Temple at Mount Wutai,[115] seems to have officially endorsed the link between the Mañjuśrī prophecy and the Chinese mountain.

The most resounding case for Mañjuśrī's presence at Mount Wutai, however, was presented in Bodhiruci's *Foshuo Wenshushili fabaozang tuoluoni jing* (T. 1185a). Also partly, if not entirely, composed in China,[116] the work gives the following prophetic account of Mañjuśrī's appearance in China translated into English by Raoul Birnbaum:

> [Then the bodhisattva Lord of the Vajra's Secret Traces said to the Buddha,] "O Lord, you often have said these words to me in the past—'After my final passing away, when a woesome age has fallen upon the Rose Apple Continent (Jambudvīpa), Mañjuśrī with broad abilities will benefit limitless sentient beings, and he will do the Buddha's work.' My sole wish, O Lord, is that you clearly and extensively describe to me in what place

> he shall dwell and further in what region he shall practice these beneficial acts. Due to your compassionate sympathy and upholding protection for all sentient beings, I wish you will speak of it."
>
> Then the Buddha told the bodhisattva Lord of the Vajra's Secret Traces: "After my final passing, in this Rose Apple Continent in the northeast sector, there is a country named Mahā Cīna. In its center there is a mountain named Five Peaks. The youth Mañjuśrī shall roam about and dwell there, preaching the Dharma in its center for the sake of all sentient beings. And at that time countless nāgas, devas, yakṣas, rākṣasa, kinnaras, mahorāgas, and other human and non-human shall encircle him, making worship offerings and revering him. This youth Mañjuśrī has limitless majestic virtues, including psychic abilities, the ability to transform himself, and the sovereign adornments. With these broad abilities, he will abundantly benefit all sentient beings. The force of his complete and perfect auspicious merits is inconceivable. . . ."[117]

Reconstructed prophecies such as this work may have permeated into India along with other reports of Mañjuśrī's presence at Mount Wutai. The fact that the Mañjuśrī cult in China had became widely known to the Buddhist community in South Asia is evident from the increased pilgrimages to Mount Wutai by Indian monks in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Kapiśa monk Bore (Prajña, 744-c. 810) for example, is known to have made a special trip to China to pay obeisance to Mañjuśrī in the late eighth century.[118] Later, in mid-ninth century, the Japanese monk Ennin, on his pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, also recounts the previous visits and his own meetings with Indian monks at the mountain.[119] And the *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, an eleventh-century work on Mount Wutai, records the presence of five hundred Indian monks (*fanseng*) at the Yuhua Monastery at Mount Wutai.[120]

Credit for the notoriety of the Mañjuśrī cult in China must also be given to Amoghavajra. In fact, the esoteric master was instrumental in establishing Mañjuśrī as the national deity of Tang China.[121] Under the patronage of Emperor Daizong (r. 763–779), Amoghavajra successfully obtained funds to renovate existing and erect new temples dedicated to Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai.[122] He also emphasized the ancestral link between the Tang rulers and the region sur-

rounding Mount Wutai in order to advance his goal of elevating the status of Mañjuśrī as the protector of the emperor and the nation.[123] The success of Amoghavajra in propagating the Mañjuśrī cult is evident from the imperial edict issued by Emperor Daizong in the seventh year of the Dali reign era (772), which ordered the construction of a Mañjuśrī cloister in every monastery in the empire.[124] Amoghavajra's inclination toward this specific Buddhist figure has led Birnbaum to suggest that Mañjuśrī may have been the esoteric master's "principal personal deity, under whose protection and inspiration he carried out his mission."[125] Indeed, his personal commitment to the bodhisattva not only prompted Amoghavajra to propagate the Mañjuśrī cult and deliberately link the Buddhist figure to the ruling family and nation, but also motivated him to translate a large number of Buddhist texts highlighting the theological significance of the bodhisattva.[126]

One of Amogahvajra's leading disciples Hanguang (fl. eighth cent.) also played a key role in the expansion of the Mañjuśrī cult at Mount Wutai. Hanguang is known to have overseen, on orders from Emperor Daizong, the construction of the esoteric Jin'ge Temple at Mount Wutai. Both he and Amoghavajra are reported to have worked closely together in performing esoteric rites related to the protection of the state on behalf of Emperor Daizong. The construction of Jin'ge Temple, under the supervision of Hanguang, was no doubt also connected to the performance of such state rituals. When the construction of the temple was completed, Hanguang seems to have been appointed as its first abbot.[127] This temple has been described as "a headquarters for tantric Buddhist practice on the mountain and a principal center for Amoghavajra and his disciples."[128]

Hanguang is also associated with a spurious story regarding the reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines from China to India.[129] When at Mount Wutai, either in 766 or 767, or some time after 774, Hanguang reportedly met Zhanran (711–782), a leading propagator of the Tiantai school in Tang China. In a work attributed to Zhanran, the Tiantai monk recounts his meeting and, for our purposes, extremely fascinating conversation he had had with Hanguang at Mount Wutai. The dialogue between the two monks, as narrated by Zhanran, went as follows:

> It just so happened that I was then paying a visit to Mount Wutai together with over forty monks from the Jianghuai areas.

> Thus, I met a disciple of the "Master of the Three Canons" Bukong, Hanguang, who, by imperial command, was overseeing the construction [of a temple] on the mountain. He told me, "While traveling in India with 'Master of the Three Canons' Bukong, I met a monk who asked me, '[I heard that] the teachings of Tiantai are circulating in the Great Tang. They are best at distinguishing the heretic from the orthodox, showing [the difference between] the one-sided and the perfect. Could you have the Tiantai works translated into Sanskrit and bring the translations to this country?'"[130]

This conversation between Zhanran and Hanguang is included in the biographies of both these monks compiled during the Song period, and was also introduced into Japan by Saichō (767–822), the transmitter of Tiantai doctrines to Japan. This story is reminiscent of the king of Kāmarūpa's purported interest in the *Daode jing* and the teachings of Daoism and the Sui Emperor Wen's orders to translate Chinese texts introducing the Buddhist realm he ruled to the Indian public. These accounts are no doubt indicative of the predicament the Chinese in general had in their encounter with the Indian civilization. The genre of reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines from China to India is specifically part of the attempt made by the Chinese clergy to validate the indigenous schools of Buddhism and their larger goal of establishing a Buddhist realm in China. In fact, Chen Jinhua has convincingly demonstrated that the above dialogue between Zhanran and Hanguang was interpolated and the alleged fame of Tiantai doctrines in India forged by the adherents of the Tiantai school in order to promote their sectarian interests. It was used in both China and Japan, Chen explains, to promote the prestige, interest, and legitimacy of the Tiantai (Jp. Tendai) school.[131]

The argument for a reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines made by the Chinese clergy also may have had some connections to the prophecies that foreboded the demise of Buddhism in India. The imminent decay and decline of Buddhist doctrines (Skt. *saddharma vipralopa/ śāsanāntardhāna*; Ch. *mofa*) in its homeland was purportedly predicted by the Buddha himself. As detailed in the next section, this view of the doctrine's impending demise was an integral and important part of Buddhist theology in both South and East Asia. On one of his missions to Middle India, the Tang diplomat Wang Xuance is reported to have learned from the abbot of the Mahābodhi

Monastery about a belief among Indian clergy that when corrupt doctrines eventually eclipse the Indic lands, genuine Buddhist doctrines will continue to flourish in the peripheral east.[132] In other words, after the disappearance of Buddhist doctrines from India, China would emerge as the new Buddhist realm. If this is indeed a true reflection of views of the seventh-century Indian clergy and not a fabrication of the Chinese Buddhists, it would not only explain the attempts by some of the South and Central Asian monks to authenticate the presence of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai, but also the increasing number of Indian and foreign monks making pilgrimage to China.

The pilgrimages of some of these foreign monks to the Chinese mountains are vividly described in the mid-ninth-century diary of the Japanese monk Ennin, in the poems and travelogues written by Chinese and foreign devotees, and illustrated in the paintings drawn on the walls of famous Buddhist caves in Dunhuang and temples in Taiyuan. The pilgrimage activity also prompted the growth in the demand for Mount Wutai paraphernalia within China and in the neighboring countries.[133] The Tibetans, for example, are reported to have sent special envoys to the Chinese court seeking paintings of Mount Wutai.[134] Additionally, it has been suggested that the emergence of the Mañjuśrī cult in China and its subsequent recognition in India may have even been responsible for the development of Mañjuśrī imagery in South Asia.[135]

The fact that South Asian monks recognized China as the abode of Mañjuśrī and traveled there expressly to make pilgrimage at Mount Wutai can be discerned from non-Chinese sources as well. Captions to the illustrations of Mañjuśrī in two eleventh-century Nepali manuscripts (now housed at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta), for example, indicate the popularity of the Wutai cult in contemporary South Asia. The first manuscript (Ms. VIII), which dates from 1015, has a caption next to the figure of Mañjuśrī describing him as the "Mañjughoṣa (i.e., Mañjuśrī) of Great China" ("*Mahācīne Mañjughoṣaḥ*"). The caption in the second manuscript (Ms. X), bearing the date of 1071, identifies the illustration of Mañjuśrī as "Vāgirāṭṭa (mistake for Vādirāṭ, i.e., Mañjuśrī) of Five-Peaked Mountain" ("*Pañcaśikha-parvate Vāgirāṭṭa*"). Apparently, as A. Foucher has acknowledged, the references here are to the abode of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai.[136]

Of equal significance are the tenth-century Sanskrit-Tibetan formulary (P. 3531) and the Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual manual

(P. 5538) in the Pelliot Collection housed in France. These works were compiled under the guidance of Indian pilgrims visiting Mount Wutai, especially, it seems, to aid monks travelling to China through Tibet and Central Asia.[137] P. 5538, for example, incorporates a conversation between an Indian monk and a native of Ganzhou (present-day Zhangye, Gansu province), a Chinese border town. This dialogue, given in both Sanskrit and Khotanese, reads:

> Whence have you come?
> I have come from Khotan.
> When did you come from India?
> Two years ago.
> Where did you stay in Khotan?
> I stayed in a saṇghārāma.
> In which saṇghārāma did you stay? Did you duly see the king or not?
> I duly saw him.
> Now where are you going?
> I am going to China.
> What is your business in China?
> I shall see the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.
> When will you return here?
> I shall see China and afterwards return.[138]

These sources imply that the reports of Indian pilgrims at Mount Wutai were not mere fabrications of the Chinese clergy. The emergence of Mount Wutai as a famed Buddhist center inspired Indian clergy to travel to China, it seems, not as transmitters of Buddhist doctrines, as had been the case previously, but as pilgrims to a country formerly dismissed as peripheral and an inappropriate dwelling place for the Buddha. In other words, the acceptance of Mount Wutai as a sacred pilgrimage site by the Indian Buddhist community seems to have finally legitimated the Chinese claim to an important place in the Buddhist world.

Maitreya and the Regeneration of the Buddhist World in Tang China

China's claim to a legitimate part of the Buddhist realm in the seventh and eighth centuries was bolstered by the prevailing view that

the doctrine had entered its decadence phase in India. The absence of a strong temporal support for the Buddhist cause and the gradual revival of Brahmanism in India reinforced the belief in the imminent demise of the doctrine. Moreover, urban decay in parts of northern India and the resulting contraction of long-distance commerce made it difficult for the Indian clergy to sustain the once flourishing monastic institutions and Buddhist towns along some of the trade routes.[139] The impecunious state of Buddhist sites and the dilapidated nature of Buddhist institutions in various regions of India can be discerned, and was available to the Chinese clergy, from the writings of Chinese pilgrims visiting India, including Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji*.

While the demise of Buddhism in India seemed apparent, in China the doctrine had gained a strong foothold and thrived under rulers such as Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, and Wu Zetian in the seventh century. Despite the frequent criticisms leveled against Buddhism by Confucian scholars and a few episodes of persecution by Chinese emperors, monastic institutions prospered throughout China. The translation of Indian Buddhist texts and production of Chinese apocryphal works, the construction of Buddhist monuments, and the proselytizing activities increased from the fourth through the seventh centuries. Within this context of the blossoming of Buddhism in China, the prophecies of the imminent decline of the doctrine were also a concern for the Chinese clergy. At the same time, however, they found an opportunity to link the prophecies to the declining state of the doctrine in India and argue for its renaissance in China. This section examines the ways in which the prophecies of the imminent demise of the Buddhist doctrine went through modifications in China, how they were employed to legitimize the usurpation of Empress Wu Zetian, and used to present China as the site for the resurrection of genuine Buddhist doctrines.

The Syncretism of Buddhist Apocalyptic Prophecies

The prophecy that the true teachings (Pāli *saddharamma*; Skt. *saddharma*; Ch. *zhengfa*) of the Buddha would eventually degenerate was an early and fundamental aspect of Buddhism.[140] It was prophesized that at certain point in the future, the exact time for which varied from text to text, invasion of India by foreigners, the ensuing destruction of Buddhist monuments, or corruption within the monastic

organization would lead to the disappearance of Buddhist doctrines. While human beings were purported to have had a life span of 80,000 years during the time of the past Buddha Vipaśyin some ninety-one eons (*kalpas*) ago, it was reduced to 100 years in the current eon of Śākyamuni Buddha, and when the true doctrines are eventually destroyed, anywhere from five hundred to one thousand years after the death of Śākyamuni, human life span would extend to only 10 years. It was also predicted that when the true teachings of the Buddha are destroyed, the world would be rampant with greed, chaos, disease, and starvation.[141]

When the true teachings have disappeared and the level of human existence had reached its all-time low, the Buddhist prophecies on the demise of the doctrine tell us, the renovation of the doctrine and the world would begin. There would be a *cakravartin* king called Śaṅkha, who would establish peace and tranquility, rule righteously, provide the seven precious jewels (*sāptaratna*; Ch. *qibao*) to the public, thus bringing happiness to all the sentient beings. At the peak of this period of prosperity under King Śaṅkha, and when the human life span has reverted to 80,000 years, the future Buddha Maitreya, currently residing in the Tuṣita Heaven, would descend on earth and attain enlightenment. The teachings of Maitreya would, then, spread to all sentient beings.[143]

Although the Buddhist teaching of impermanence would seem a logical source for the prophecies on the eventual demise of the doctrine, internal polemics concerning the orthodoxy of the doctrine and sectarian movements may have played a more important role in their formation.[144] In fact, there seem to be two major strains of prophecies concerning the decline of the doctrine. One line of argument emphasized the internal decay of the monastic community and the ineffectiveness of the doctrine leading to the disappearance of the true teachings. The Buddha's prediction about the dire consequences of admitting women into the monastic community is an early example from this set of prophecies.[145] The Buddha is supposed to have told Ānanda, one of his leading disciples, that,

> [If] women had not retired from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, religion, Ānanda, would long endure; a thousand years would the Good Doctrine abide. But since, Ānanda, women have now retired from household life to the houseless

> one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, not long, Ānanda, will religion endure; but five hundred years, Ānanda, will the Good Doctrine abide.[146]

Also among this set of prophecies is the so-called Kauśāmbī story, in which a sectarian dispute between Buddhist factions at the city of Kauśāmbī leads to the emergence of counterfeit teachings (*pratirūpaka dharma*; Ch. *xiangfa*) followed by the eventual disappearance of the doctrine.[147]

A second group of prophecies on the decline of the doctrine highlighted invasions by foreign rulers. In the Chinese translations of *Saṃyuktāgama* (*Za Ahan jing*, T. 99) and *Aśokarājāvadāna* (*Ayu wang zhuan*, T. 2042), for example, invading forces of Greeks (*yavana*), *śaka*, Parthians (*pahlava*), and Tukhārians (Ch. *Toushaluo*=Skt. *tuṣāra*?) are prophesized to destroy Buddhist monasteries and the community.[148] Jan Nattier points out that these predictions date from the second to fourth centuries of the Common Era, two to four hundred years after the actual invasion of India by the foreign groups mentioned in the prophecies had taken place.[149] She suggests that since some of these foreign invaders had become avid supporters of Buddhism during later periods, the prophecies related to the conquests may have originated from the destruction caused by their initial invasions.[150]

In fact, the original inspiration for Maitreya, the Buddha of the post-decline phase of the doctrine, may have been the Zoroastrian cult of savior (Saōsyant) or the Persian-Greek Messiah Mithrās Invictus, introduced into India by some of the same foreign groups blamed for the eventual destruction of Buddhism.[151] Victor H. Mair has explained that the names Maitreya and Mithra mean the same and go back to the same Indo-European root. In Brahmanical tradition, Mitraḥ ("friend"/"companion") is a god of friendship, who is often invoked as an upholder of order, punisher of falsehood, supporter of heaven and earth, and bringer of rain. Similarly, in Buddhism, Maitreya (Pāli Metteyya) means "the Benevolent (Friendly) One," a bodhisattva who is also the Buddha of the future. The Persian-Greek Mithrās (from Avestan Mithrō; Old Persian Mithra i.e., "contract") is the God of Light and guardian against evil who was widely worshiped in the Roman empire, especially among the military (legionaries), during the early Christian centuries. Sanskrit Mitrah, Avestan Mithrō, and Old Persian Mithra-, Mair argues, are all from Indo-Iranian **mitra-*, meaning friend(ship),

contract, god of the contract.[152] Indeed, as Romila Thapar points out, the popularity of the Maitreya cult in the northern tradition of Buddhism may have derived from a complex historical situation that resulted in the "juxtaposition of a number of competing religions along the routes linking India, Iran, central Asia, and east Asia."[153]

Maitreya emerges as an important figure in the *Mahāvastu,* a canonical text of the Mahāsāṇghika school, compiled between the second century B.C.E. and the third or fourth century C.E. In this text, he bears the given name Ajita and the family name Maitreya,[154] described as the "Universal Monarch" (*cakravartin*), and noted as the fifth among the one thousand buddhas destined to appear in the current eon.[155] Among the early Mahāyāna literature, Maitreya appears prominently in the *Lotus Sūtra* and *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra.* In the latter text, for example, he is noted as residing in Tuṣita Heaven as a bodhisattva and acknowledged as the successor to Śākyamuni Buddha waiting to descend on earth.

Between the second and tenth centuries, as the Buddhist prophecies regarding the demise of the doctrine and the appearance of the future Buddha dispersed to the rest of Asia, Maitreya assumed multiple roles. He was regarded as the savior of sentient beings, the usher of a utopian age, and the figure responsible for sustaining the Buddhist doctrines in the future age. The most fundamental feature of the Maitreyan prophecies and myths of the later periods, however, was the anticipated encounter between the Buddhist believers and the future Buddha. Although merit-making was the most commonly accepted prerequisite for such an encounter, there were disagreements over when and where the believer would eventually meet him. Nattier's survey of various Maitreyan prophecies has resulted in four logically possible scenarios about the time and place believers expected to encounter the future Buddha:

1. *Here/now:* the believer will meet Maitreya on earth, in his or her present lifetime.
2. *Here/later:* the believer will meet Maitreya on earth, but in a future rebirth.
3. *There/now:* the believer will meet Maitreya in his current abode at Tuṣita Heaven during present lifetime.
4. *There/later:* the believer will meet Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven in a future lifetime.[156]

Nattier points out that of these four scenarios, the here/now versions were a "distinct minority," and limited to the Chinese context. Indeed, the belief in the imminent appearance of a messianic figure on earth proved especially attractive to the Chinese rebels who emphasized Daoist apocalyptic and millennial views.

Several Chinese rebellions, since at least the fifth century, can be linked to the Buddhist eschatological ideas that had fused with the indigenous (especially Daoist) messianic tradition.[157] The amalgam of Buddhist and Daoist eschatological ideas seems to have begun during the late Han period, when translation of the first group of Buddhist texts containing the prophecies on the decline of the doctrine and the advent of Maitreya coincided with rebellions incited by Daoist messianic ideas. The prevalent Daoist messianic belief of that time predicted that when the world comes to the verge of destruction and the sun and moon have disappeared, the savior Li Hong would appear. He would then save a few "chosen people" from destruction and chaos and eventually establish an ideal state, in fact a realm of paradise that would last for thousands and millions of years. The advent of Li Hong was predicted to take place in either 392, 403, or 452.[158]

In all likelihood the here/now version of Maitreyan prophesy was a product of the Chinese syncretism of Buddhist views on the decay of doctrine and the preexisting belief in the advent of Li Hong. The amalgamation of Buddho-Daoist prophecies probably developed at the folk level and were primarily spread through apocryphal texts.[159] Indeed, none of canonical texts translated into Chinese advocated the imminent advent of Maitreya in the world during the present lifetime. Nor, in fact, did the major Maitreyan cults in China share the view of encountering the future Buddha in the present lifetime. Rather, the traditional belief in meeting Maitreya in Tuṣita Heaven through the accumulation of merit was more widespread among the members of the Chinese clergy.

Like the transmission of other Buddhist doctrines, the notion of a future Buddha had also entered China through the trade routes linking India and China. The cult of Maitreya is known to have flourished along both the northern and southern branches of the Silk Road. In the kingdom of Khotan, for example, many of its kings were considered to be the incarnations of Maitreya. The Maitreya cult seems to have been equally popular in Turfan on the northern rim

of the Taklamakan desert.[160] In fact, the Northern Liang (397–439) occupation of Turfan and surrounding regions in the fifth century may have facilitated the spread of the Maitreya cult from the trading outposts in Central Asia to the Chinese hinterland. While a few Buddhist texts illustrating the role of the future Buddha were translated into Chinese in the third century, a large number of Maitreya texts date from the late fourth and fifth centuries.[161]

The translated texts from the fourth and fifth centuries highlight either the here/later or there/later versions of Maitreya prophecies. The popularity of these texts and the Maitreya cult itself during this period can be discerned from the rituals and practices (such as meditation, taking of vows, and invoking the name of Maitreya in order to attain rebirth in Tuṣita heaven or the earthly paradise of the future Buddha) performed by some of leading Buddhist monks in China, the increase in the number of Maitreya images installed by the royalty, and the large number of inscriptions dedicated to Maitreya by the lay Buddhist.[162]

But, as Erik Zürcher points out, this is also the period when the role and perception of Maitreya seriously deviated from his original location in a realm of paradise existing in a very distant future. In the second half of the fifth century, Maitreya emerges as a messianic figure, whose imminent arrival would purportedly end the chaos and decay ravaging the contemporary world. This view of a messianic Maitreya became an inspiration for antiestablishment movements and rebellions, and, at the same time, prompted individuals to proclaim themselves as incarnations of Maitreya.[163] One of the earliest rebellions in China in which the leader reportedly claimed that he was an incarnation of Maitreya dates from the late fifth century.[164] While it is not clear what specific ideas or apocryphal texts may have instigated this rebellion, a similar uprising by a monk called Fachuan in 515 was clearly inspired by the apocryphal version of *Yueguang tongzi jing* (*Chandraprabhakumāra Sūtra*, T. 534).

The earliest canonical version of this text, translated by Dharmarakṣa in the third century, portends the future appearance of the lesser known Buddhist figure called Yueguang (Chandraprabha) as a *cakravartin* ruler. According to the text, at the end of Chandraprapha's fifty-two-year reign, Buddhist texts and writings will gradually disappear, monks will give up their monastic life and return to lay society, and eventually Buddhist doctrines would be completely destroyed.[165] The apocryphal versions of the Chandraprabha prophecy were already

circulating in China in the fourth and fifth centuries. It appears, for example, in the text called *Foshuo shenri jing* (*Chandraprabhakumāra Sūtra*, T. 535), where the Buddha predicts that one thousand years after his death, Chandraprabha will be reborn as a great sage-ruler of China (*Qinguo*). He will, then, restore the Buddhist doctrine in China and in the neighboring region and convert everyone to Buddhism.[166]

Antiestablishment movements based on the Buddho-Daoist prophecies concerning the advent of Maitreya and Chandraprabha became more widespread in the seventh century. In the first lunar month of the sixth year of the Daye period (January-February 610), for example, a large group of bandits, led by someone they called Maitreya Buddha, attacked the imperial palace of the Sui dynasty. Three years later, a person named Song Zixian and a monk called Xiang Haiming proclaimed the advent of Maitreya and led separate rebellions against the state. Similar uprisings by people either proclaiming themselves as incarnations of Maitreya or those taking on the role of a savior in order to establish a new Buddhist kingdom also occurred in 715, 1047, and 1337.[167] In fact, these antiestablishment movements associated with the Maitreya/Chandraprabha prophecies may have been the source for the later, more famous, millennial activities of the White Lotus Society during the Yuan (1279–1368), Ming, and the Qing (1644–1911) dynasties.[168]

The use of here/now versions of Maitreya/Chandraprabha prophecies, however, was not confined to the antiestablishment rebels. The rulers of some post-Han kingdoms also attempted to identify themselves with the two messianic Buddhist figures. The non-Chinese rulers of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), for example, supported the belief of Maitreya's imminent descent in the present lifetime. "It was hoped," as Kenneth Ch'en points out, "that this descent would occur during the reign of the Northern Wei Dynasty, so that Maitreya would make use of that dynasty to pacify and unify the world."[169] Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty, on the other hand, was presented as an incarnation of the savior Chandraprabha in the Buddhist text called *Foshuo Dehu zhangzhe jing*. In this text, the Buddha is noted to have given the following prophecy:

> When the Buddhist doctrine is in its final phase, in the Great Sui Kingdom of Jambudvīpa, [Chandraprabha] will become the great king called Daxing. He will be able to lead all the sentient beings of the Sui Kingdom to believe in the Buddhist doctrine

> and plant the roots of various good [deeds]. At that time, King Daxing will venerate my Alms-bowl with the heart of great faith and the power of resolute virtues. Thus, within few years, my Alms-bowl will reach the Great Kingdom of Sui from [its present location in] Shale (Kashgar).[170]

The same prophecy also describes the Sui king as a noble worshiper of the Buddha's Alms-bowl relic,[171] and a generous sponsor of Buddhist texts, images, and *stūpas*. Buddha then predicts that because of his great deeds, the Sui king will eventually become a *cakravartin* ruler.

As Erik Zürcher has noted, this prophecy about Chandraprabha's advent as the king of the Sui dynasty was interpolated by Narendrayaśas when he was translating the Indian text under the patronage of Emperor Wen. The Indian monk did so, Zürcher suggests, for the purpose of "political propaganda on behalf of the Sui emperor Wen."[172] Indeed, as pointed out earlier, Emperor Wen, after reunifying China in 589, had employed a variety of Buddhist paraphernalia to legitimize his new empire. The distribution of relics, the building of *stūpas*, and the manipulation of Buddhist texts by translators working under the auspices of the state were part of such plans. By the late sixth century, as Emperor Wen's actions indicate, Buddhist eschatological ideas had not only permeated Chinese society, they had also become efficacious political tools. Thus, almost a century later, when Empress Wu used the Maitreya and Chandraprabha prophesies for her own political propaganda and legitimization, she was simply following an established precedent. In fact, Empress Wu was a close descendant of Emperor Wen and many of her Buddhist propaganda activities were modeled after the Sui emperor.[173]

Wu Zetian: The Female Maitreya and the Ruler of Jambudvīpa

In rising from the status of a concubine of Emperor Taizong to the first empress of the succeeding Tang ruler Gaozong, Empress Wu had demonstrated tremendous political acumen. Relegated to a Buddhist monastery after the death of Emperor Taizong in 649, Wu Zetian quickly reentered the palace as the concubine of Gaozong. The new emperor, it seems, had prior attractions toward his father's concubine. From around 654, after she had given birth to the first son of Gaozong and had become the emperor's favorite concubine, Wu

Zetian began insisting on receiving the formal status of empress. Despite the fact that the court officials adamantly opposed her requests on the ground that she came from a lowly family and because she had been the concubine of the previous emperor, Gaozong, in 656, nonetheless bestowed the title of empress on Wu Zetian. Thereafter, Wu Zetian tactfully dismissed leading Tang officials whom she considered hostile, and also seems to have planned the deaths of the first empress Wang and Gaozong's other leading concubine, Xiao Liangdi.[174]

In 660, when Emperor Gaozong become severely ill, Wu Zetian was actively engaged in making political decisions for the Tang court. Even after the emperor recovered and resumed his duties, Wu Zetian continued to participate in court affairs as "an equal partner in government."[175] In 674, soon after Emperor Gaozong's illness relapsed, Wu Zetian created a special and unprecedented title of "Heavenly Empress" ("Tianhou") for herself. And when the emperor died in 683, she emerged as the *de facto* ruler of China. Subsequently, she installed Li Dan (i.e., Ruizong [r. 683–684]) as the puppet emperor, and ordered changes to imperial symbols and paraphernalia used by the Tang rulers. The color of dress worn by court officials, for example, was changed, mythical names from the pre-Common Era Zhou dynasty replaced the Tang official titles, and the city of Luoyang was proclaimed the "Divine Capital" (*Shendu*).[176] Six years later, in the eighth lunar month (September) of 690, perhaps in order to consolidate her authority, she eventually usurped the Tang throne, declared the founding of the Zhou dynasty, and took the title of "Holy and Divine Emperor" for herself.

Between 685 and 695, Wu Zetian secured crucial support from the Buddhist clergy to legitimize her authority and her formal role as the "emperor" of China. Stanley Weinstein has suggested that Wu Zetian turned to Buddhism because it, unlike Confucianism (which provided no scope for women to hold the position of emperor) and Daoism (whose founder was supposed to be an ancestor of the ruling Li family Tang dynasty), "had no vested interest in the maintenance of the T'ang dynasty."[177] It is not clear, however, exactly when Wu Zetian devised the plan to use Buddhism as a means to legitimize her authority. The declaration of Buddhism as the state religion of China in 674 by Emperor Gaozong, perhaps on the urging of Wu Zetian, may have won her initial backing from the Buddhist clergy. Additionally, her "affaire" with the Buddhist monk Xue Huaiyi starting in

685 may have also made it easier for her to employ Buddhist personnel and paraphernalia for political purposes.[178] In fact, Huaiyi played a leading role in legitimizing Wu Zetian's usurpation through the manipulation of Buddhist texts and prophecies.

Wu Zetian's plans to use Buddhism, especially the Maitreya/Chandraprabha prophecies, to legitimize her authority were evident by the late 685. This is when Wu Zetian ordered the construction of the religious tower known as *tiantang* (Celestial Hall) within the Luminous Hall complex at Luoyang. Antonino Forte, who has examined in detail the background to and the process of constructing the Celestial Hall, argues that this architectural structure essentially served as a "Maitreyan tower." Huaiyi, the chief architect of the hall, Forte points out, was himself a leader of a contemporary Maitreyan movement. The principle text used by Huaiyi and his fellow followers of the Maitreyan cult was *Puxian pusa shuo zhengming jing* (The Attestation *Sūtra* Spoken by Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, T. 2879), an apocryphal text compiled between 560 and 589.[179]

This text contains a prophecy about Maitreya's descent from his current abode in the Tuṣita Heaven into a "magical city" with majestic city-walls, decorated pavilions, and a magnificent tower. The text professes that only those who were destined for salvation would be admitted into this city.[180] It seems that the planned construction of the Celestial Hall and the naming of Luoyang as the "divine capital" were based on the description of the "magical city" in *Puxian pusa shuo zhengming jing*. In fact, in 689, when the Celestial Hall was finally completed, it featured a lacquer statue of Maitreya two hundred seventy meters high.[181] Less than two years after the Celestial Hall was completed, Wu Zetian usurped the Tang throne and established her own Zhou dynasty.

The fact that the Buddhist clergy working under the leadership of Huaiyi attempted to link Wu Zetian to Maitreya is also apparent from a Buddhist commentary presented to the court two months before the Tang dynasty was overthrown. The commentary, which seems to have been called *Dayun jing Shenhuang shouji yi shu* (Commentary on the Meaning of the Prophecy about Shenhuang [Divine Emperor, i.e., Wu Zetian] in the *Dayun jing*; hereafter *Commentary*),[182] explicitly implied that Wu Zetian was an incarnation of Maitreya born to rule the continent of Jambudvīpa. Although the *Commentary* purports to explain Dharmakṣema's fifth-century translation of the canonical work *Dayun jing* (*Mahāmegha Sūtra*, T. 387),[183] it incorpo-

rates numerous passages from the apocryphal *Puxian pusa shuo zhengming jing* to substantiate Maitreya's arrival in China.

At the core of the *Commentary* was a prophecy concerning the reincarnation of Devī Jingguang (Vimalaprabha), one of the Buddha's female disciples, as a *cakravartin* ruler. In the prophecy, which is drawn from the canonical text *Dayun jing*, the Buddha predicts that Devī Vimalaprabha would be reborn to become a powerful, compassionate, and pious Buddhist ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa.[184] The authors of the *Commentary* used this prophecy to argue that Wu Zetian was in reality the same female *cakravartin* professed to rule Jambudvīpa. This argument may have been employed specifically to address the fact that no woman in China had previously attained the position of emperor. Additionally, the authors of the *Commentary* cited the passage on the Magic City in *Puxian pusa shuo zhengming jing* to suggest that Maitreya was predestined to arrive in Luoyang, the divine capital of Wu Zetian. In fact, when presenting the *Commentary* to the court, one of its authors openly declared that Wu Zetian was an incarnation of Maitreya on earth and a ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa.[185] In short, the *Commentary* and its authors portrayed Wu Zetian as both a female *cakravartin* and an incarnated Maitreya, reborn to rule over all the kingdoms in Jambudvīpa.

Through an edict dated August 16, 690, the *Commentary* was distributed to Buddhist monasteries across the Tang empire, no doubt in preparation for the imminent usurpation of the Tang throne by Wu Zetian. Indeed, exactly two months later, Wu Zetian ended Tang rule and proclaimed her own dynasty.

Five years after the circulation of the *Commentary* and the usurpation of the Tang throne, Wu Zetian formally added the name Maitreya (Cishi) to her title.[186] In the meantime, the attempt to legitimize her usurpation through other Buddhist prophecies continued. In 693, for example, the Indian monk Bodhiruci produced a text called *Baoyu jing* (*Ratnamegha Sūtra*, T. 660), which contained interpolated passages, as cited in the epigraph to this chapter, predicting the appearance of a female bodhisattva-*cakravartin* ruler of Jambudvīpa in China.[187] Curiously, however, Wu Zetian in this text was linked to the bodhisattva Chandraprabha and not Maitreya.

It seems that both the *Commentary* and the *Ratnamegha Sūtra* were produced at Wu Zetian's behest and by people closely associated with her. Xue Huaiyi, Zetian's lover, for example, was personally responsible for setting up the group that compiled the *Commentary*. Bodhiruci,

on the other hand, had arrived in China on Wu Zetian's personal request. Antonino Forte, however, has cautioned us about the distinct functions of these two Buddhist works employed to sanction Wu Zetian's authority. He points out that the use of the Buddhist prophecies by Wu Zetian was not aimed at supporting the apocalyptic views concerning the advent of Maitreya in the present lifetime. In fact, Wu Zetian had banned one of the leading apocalyptic sects of Buddhism, the Sanjie jiao (Three-Stage sect), during her reign. The passages in *Ratnamegha Sūtra,* Forte suggests, were deliberately interpolated in order to clarify her ideological position. Thus, while the *Commentary* was produced for the purpose of political propaganda, *Ratnamegha Sūtra* offered Wu Zetian's own belief in the orthodox Buddhist views on there/later version of Maitreya prophecy. Indeed, within a month of the incorporation of Maitreya in her title, Wu Zetian had the monk Huaiyi murdered, because, as Forte suggests, "of his unyielding political extremism" (perhaps related to his support for the apocalyptic view on Maitreya's imminent arrival),[188] and renounced her title which bore the name of Maitreya.[189]

No matter what specific ideological function these two texts served, or to what extent the Buddhist propaganda was successful in legitimizing Wu Zetian's usurpation, the political use of Buddhist motifs and paraphernalia provided tremendous stimulus to Sino-Indian exchanges during the last two decades of the seventh century. In order to portray Wu Zetian as the legitimate ruler not only of China but the entire continent of Jambudvīpa, the Chinese Buddhist clique working on behalf of the empress seems to have sought the help of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian nationals. As mentioned earlier, Wu Zetian herself is known to have personally invited monks from India and Central Asia to China for this purpose. Anguished by the lack of support from powerful rulers or states, the Indian clergy in the sixth and seventh centuries might have accepted the dire fate of Buddhism as foreboded in the prophesies of the demise of the doctrine. Some of these disgruntled members of the Indian monastic community were undoubtedly drawn to the emerging Buddhist world in China endowed with sacred sites (such as Mount Wutai) and ruled by ideal Buddhist rulers (such as Emperor Wen and Empress Wu Zetian). Additionally, the political stability and the economic prosperity attained by the Tang dynasty in the second half of the seventh century made China an immensely attractive destination for Indian monks. In fact, several Indian expatriates in China

collaborated with the Chinese clergy to not only legitimize the political authority of pro-Buddhist rulers, but also transform China into a sacred Buddhist realm.

The most telling evidence for the presence and involvement of Indian nationals in Wu Zetian's political propaganda comes from a colophon found on the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Ratnamegha Sūtra* (S. 2278).[190] The colophon records the names, functions, and titles of people who participated in the translation of the *Sūtra* under the supervision of monk Huaiyi. Of the thirty people listed on the colophon, nine were Indian nationals. The names, titles, and roles of these Indians are given in Table 2.

Antonino Forte has extracted extremely important biographical information about some of these Indian natives from contemporary Chinese sources. Huizhi, Forte points out, was an Indian born

Table 2. Indian nationals working under Huaiyi

Damoliuzhi (Dharmaruci, i.e., Bodhiruci)	Monk from South India	Expounder and explainer of the [original] Sanskrit text (*xuanshi fanben*)
Monk Fanmo (Brahmā?)	The envoy from the king of Middle India	Co-expounder of the [original] Sanskrit text (*jianxuan fanben*)
Huizhi (?)	Monk from the Foshouji Monastery	Proofreader of the translated language (*zheng yiyu*)
Damonantuo (Dharmānanda?)	Monk from Tiangong Monastery	Proofreader of the Sanskrit words (*zheng fanwen*)
Bore (Prajña?)	Indian monk	Philological assistant (*zhengyi*)
Dupoju (?)	Indian official	Copier of the Sanskrit text (*xie fanben*)
Jiaye Wudan (Kāśapa Uddyan?)	Indian official	Copier of the Sanskrit text
Chali Wutai (Kṣatriya Udaya?)	Indian official	Copier of the Sanskrit text
Li Wuchan (?)	Indian official	Translator (*yiyu*)

in China of a Brahmin father. His teacher in China seems to have been Lokāditya, the Kaśmīri longevity physician invited to China by Emperor Gaozong. In addition, Huizhi is reported to have met Buddhapāli, the famous Indian pilgrim to Mount Wutai. He also composed poems in Sanskrit that augmented the political goals of Empress Wu, and, at the same time, helped dispel the borderland complex of the Chinese clergy. In fact, Forte argues that Huizhi's poetry in Sanskrit was "part of the one logic and the one programme: to make China a sacred place of Buddhism and her sovereign (i.e., Wu Zetian) a Cakravartin."[191]

Li Wuchan, on the other hand, was a native of Lampāka. Originally belonging to royalty, he is reported to have worked on Buddhist translation and also on propagating Wu Zetian's political cause in China together with the Kaśmīri monk Baosiwei (Manicintana?), the Kapiśa clergy Shilinantuoshe (Śrīnandaśarman?), and monk Shilimoduo (Śrīmītra?) from India.[192]

Specific mention, in connection to Wu Zetian's employment of Indian nationals,[193] must also be made of Gautama Luo (Rāhula?), an Indian astronomer who held the position of Director of Astronomy (*Tai shi ling*) between 665 and 698. The first of three famous Gautama family astronomers to work at the Tang court, Rāhula is known to have compiled two calendars during his tenure.[194] The fact that an Indian held the highest position in an important office that was in charge of interpreting heavenly phenomenon on behalf of the Chinese ruler is noteworthy. Mathematical techniques used by Indian astronomers are usually credited for their employment at the Tang astronomical bureau. However, it is likely that the initial interest in Indian astronomers was connected to Wu Zetian's plans to legitimize her authority. As Forte has observed, the correct calculation of time, especially the period from Buddha's nirvāṇa to the prophetic decline of the religion and the advent of Maitreya, constituted an important component of Chinese Buddhism.[195] In fact, the construction of the Celestial Hall, which functioned as an astronomical clock, by Wu Zetian may have been done for this specific purpose. It is possible that in around 665, when Wu Zetian had emerged as the leading contender to the Tang throne, she personally installed Rāhula as the Director of Astronomy for the legitimization of her authority.

Even the Indian embassy of 693 (discussed in the previous chapter), which is reported to have consisted of royalty from various regions of India, may have been part of Wu Zetian's attempt to legit-

imize her rule. Indeed, a tribute mission from India, led personally by kings from the land of the Buddha, should have been instrumental in confirming Wu Zetian's position as the *cakravartin* ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa, with China no longer as its periphery. Although it is unlikely that Indian kings would leave their kingdom and travel to China, the episode is nonetheless indicative of Wu Zetian's use of Indic paraphernalia to legitimize her usurpation. The list of activities related to India initiated by Wu Zetian is, in fact, a lengthy one. It included, for example, her sponsorship of Buddhist translation projects, the construction of Buddhist monuments, and the installation of numerous Buddhist figures at the Longmen cave temple. Suffice it to say that Wu Zetian's reign was one of the most propitious periods for the Buddhist community in China. It was arguably the most vibrant era in the history of Sino-Indian interactions, and a phase that perhaps marked the highest point in Indic influences on Chinese society.

It must be recognized, however, that the last quarter of the seventh century also witnessed the emergence of Mount Wutai as a pilgrimage site for Indian clergy, strengthening the view that after the demise of Buddhism in its homeland the doctrines would continue to flourish in China. Additionally, the claim of Wu Zetian as the *cakravartin* ruler of Jambudvīpa may have contributed immensely to firing the Chinese clergies' zeal to carve out their place in the Buddhist world. Clearly, Sino-Indian relations during the Tang period were exceptional not only for their intensity, but also because of the intricate process through which Buddhist ideas and paraphernalia were assimilated into and adapted to the Chinese society. In fact, on one hand, the Tang period epitomizes the pattern of Sino-Indian intercourse during the first millennium: it illustrates the military and spiritual interests that prompted closer political contacts between the two countries, and it also testifies to the transmission of ideas through the movement of people and the translation of Buddhist texts, and demonstrates the ways in which Indic ideas were adopted, syncretized with indigenous beliefs, and subsequently diffused throughout the Chinese society. On the other hand, however, it is unique because this period marks the declaration of China, according to Forte, as "the actual center of the Buddhist world."[196]

The Termination of the Buddhist Phase of Sino-Indian Interactions

> A collection of scriptures is worth nothing unless someone puts it to real use.
>
> —Dōgen

It is commonly accepted that internal division and the introduction of Tantric ideas into Buddhism during the seventh and eighth centuries triggered the decay of Buddhist teachings in India.[1] Similarly, in China, internal corruption and doctrinal stagnation have been blamed for the failure of Buddhism to inspire the religious, social, or the intellectual life of the Chinese after the Tang period.[2] Thus, the term "decline" was also conferred upon the status of Chinese Buddhism after the ninth century.[3] Consequently, it has been presumed that the demise of Buddhism in India and China terminated the cross-cultural interactions between the two countries.

Contrary to the above presumptions, Song dynasty sources indicate that in the tenth and eleventh centuries about eighty Indian monks arrived in China, one hundred thirty-eight Chinese monks returned after visiting the Indian subcontinent, a total of one thousand twenty-eight Indian texts were procured, and five hundred sixty-four scrolls of Buddhist *sūtras* were translated into Chinese.[4] By 1021, there were 397,615 monks and 61,240 nuns, more than at any time in Chinese history.[5] Such accomplishments put Buddhist interactions between India and Song China close to, if not on a par with, the more notable exchanges of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589), Sui, and the Tang periods.

It is not the above numbers, however, that challenge the received wisdom of Buddhist decline in India and Song China. Jan Yün-hua, in a series of essays, has, for example, explained the significant achievement of Song Buddhist monks in the production and development of religious histories. He points out that between 960 and 1278 at least fifty works of Buddhist history were compiled. For Jan this is important evidence of Buddhist contributions to Song and Chinese historiography.[6] In addition, recent scholarship has trumpeted the intellectual and theoretical achievements of Chan and Tiantai schools of Buddhism during the Song period. Some scholars have even proposed that "far from signaling a decline, the Sung (Song) was a period of great efflorescence in Buddhism and that, if any period deserves the epithet of the 'golden age' of Buddhism, the Sung is the most likely candidate."[7] Indeed, studies produced in the past two decades have drastically changed our views regarding post ninth-century Chinese Buddhism to such an extent that the word "decline" can no longer be associated with Song Buddhism.[8]

Similarly, the notion of the decay of Buddhism in India and its perceived impact on Sino-Indian interactions also requires a reassessment. While Buddhist institutions and doctrines in India did eventually degenerate in the thirteenth century, Tibetan and Chinese sources testify to the existence of prospering and active monastic centers in the Bengal-Bihar region in eastern India and in Kaśmīr in northern India between the tenth and the twelfth centuries. These records also indicate the frequent exchanges between the members of Indian and foreign monastic communities during the same period. Together, these sources contradict the hypothesis about the termination of Buddhist interactions between India and China immediately after the ninth century.

As will be evident from the discussion below, the movement of Buddhist monks and artifacts between India and China during the tenth and eleventh centuries is not the crucial issue. What seems to be more perplexing is the fact that *despite* the significant Buddhist traffic between the two countries, Buddhist doctrines from India seem to have had little impact on the development of Chinese Buddhism after the Tang period. One of the key factors is the apparent failure of the newly translated texts. Jan Yün-hua explains that the translated texts failed to have any influence on Song Buddhism because of the marked "decline of China's cultural borrowing from

India," which, according to him, resulted from a number of internal and external factors.[9] "On the Chinese side," Jan writes, "the completion of sectarian growth of Buddhism, shift of intellectual interest, and Buddhist dependence on the government in the translation of Buddhist canons were the main causes. Externally, they were the transformation of Buddhism in India with the rise of Tantrism and the general deterioration of the religion in India and Central Asia due to the spread of Islam."[10] Jan has put forth two other explanatory factors for the failure of Buddhist translations during the Song dynasty. First, the Chinese Buddhist community objected to the Song court's imposition on translation activities. Secondly, Jan points out that there arose a strong opposition among the followers of the burgeoning Chan and Tiantai schools to foreign monks and new teachings from India.[11]

It must be pointed out here that stylistic and linguistic problems have also been found accountable for the failure of Buddhist texts translated during the Song dynasty. Hajime Nakamura, for example, notes that the translation of Śāntideva's (c. 650–750) *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Puti xing jing*, T. 1662) "was read very seldom and has left little influence in later Chinese and Japanese Buddhism because of the awkwardness of the style."[12] Similarly, Yukei Matsunaga finds an "abundance of mistranslations" in the Chinese translation of the esoteric texts *Guhyasamājatantra* (*Yiqie rulai jin'gang sanye zuishang mimi dajiaowang jing*, T. 885) and *Hevajratantra* (*Foshuo dabeikong zhi jin'gang dajiaowang yigui jing*, T. 892).[13] In addition, John Brough has, at least in one instance, charged the Chinese translators with plagiarism.[14] According to Brough, the translators of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (*Pusa benshengman lun*, T. 160), the Chinese monks Shaode and Huixun, did not translate the work from an Indian original. Rather, Brough argues that the Chinese text is plagiarized from previous translations and other pre-existing texts "with or without the addition of some freshly invented material."[15] He attributes the problem to the inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit among the Chinese Buddhist community and the corresponding lack of understanding of Chinese among the Indian missionaries.

In response to Brough's article, and others who have since accepted his assertion,[16] Richard Bowring notes that *Pusa benshengman lun* was translated between 1078 and 1082, after the death of the Indian monk Richeng (Sūryakīrti?, d. 1078)—the last remaining expert of Sanskrit in Northern Song (960–1127).[17] Bowring claims that

before the death of Sūryakīrti, the state supported Yijing yuan (Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras*, later named Chuanfa yuan [Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma]), and the group of translators working there were well-trained and produced high quality translations. It was only after the death of Sūryakīrti and the closure of the Institute that low-quality texts, including *Pusa benshengman lun*, were produced. Huixun, one of the Chinese translators, Bowring concludes, was only responsible for a "half-hearted attempt" to translate Āryaśūra's work and, thus, should not be accused of plagiarism.

This dispute over the extent of plagiarism and the critique of linguistic errors too narrowly demarcates the breadth of the failings of Song Buddhist translations. This chapter will demonstrate that a combination of factors, including the dearth of qualified translators and the limited supply of new texts, severely affected the translation activity revived by the Song emperor Taizong (r. 977–997) after a hiatus of one hundred and sixty years. Similarly, neither plagiarism nor the "awkwardness of the style" seems to be wholly responsible for the failure of the newly translated texts in Song China. Instead, the shifting doctrinal interest among the members of the Chinese Buddhist community away from imported doctrines and toward indigenous schools rendered most of the new translations and their contents obsolete in China.

The aim of this chapter is essentially threefold. First, by focusing on the translation activities of Indian monks under the Song dynasty, it will demonstrate the continued Buddhist interactions between India and China after the ninth century. Secondly, it will explain why the newly translated texts and Indian monks, unlike in the period prior to the fall of the Tang dynasty, failed to contribute to the dissemination of new Buddhist doctrines in China. Thirdly, it will contend that the changing attitude of the Chinese clergy toward Indic doctrines and the Buddhist realm in India, and not the decay of Buddhism in India, was the main reason for the termination of the Buddhist phase of Sino-Indian interactions.

Buddhism in Post-Ninth-Century India

The deterioration of Buddhism in India is often invoked to explain the termination of the Buddhist phase of Sino-Indian interactions. These two events, i.e., the decay of Buddhism in India and the end of the Buddhist-centered Sino-Indian exchanges are historical facts,

and, indeed, had a significant impact on the patterns of cross-cultural interactions between India and China. However, there is appreciable disparity between the actual occurrence of the two events and their presumed effect on Sino-Indian interactions. A closer examination of Chinese sources, as presented in this chapter, reveals that Buddhist exchanges between the two countries and translation of Buddhist texts had continued in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In other words, the eventual termination of the Buddhist phase of Sino-Indian interactions may not have ensued from the deterioration of Indian Buddhism.

The point that needs to be clarified at the outset is the status of Buddhism in India between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Indeed, Buddhism did begin to lose support in parts of the Indian subcontinent. The prevailing prophecies on the demise of the doctrine and the reports of Chinese pilgrims, noted in the previous chapter, reflect of this dire situation. But, as Tibetan and Chinese records and archeological evidence indicate, it continued to prosper in at least two core areas—Eastern India and Kaśmīr.[18] Both these regions played a crucial role in the development of later Buddhist ideas and philosophy and sustained the tradition of transmitting the doctrine outside India at least until the twelfth century.

In Eastern India, the Buddhist monasteries in Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa remained active from the ninth through to the twelfth centuries. The monastic universities of Nālandā, Odantapurī, and Vikramaśīla housed and trained monks from India and abroad and were instrumental in the transmission of esoteric Buddhism to Tibet. These monasteries in general, and Buddhist doctrines in particular, flourished in Eastern India, especially under the patronage of the Pāla rulers (750?–1155). The Pāla kings, who occupied Bengal and Bihar in the mid-eighth century, offered lavish gifts and land grants to the existing Buddhist institutions and, at the same time, established new monasteries throughout the region. While Gopāla (r. 750?–770), the founder of the Pāla dynasty, is reputed to have established the Odantapurī monastery, his son, Dharmapāla (r. 770–810) sponsored Vikramaśīla and fifty other monasteries.[19] Many of the succeeding rulers, including Devapāla (r. 810–850), Mahīpāla I (r. 988–1027), and Rāmapāla (r. 1077–1120), were also great patrons and scholars of Buddhism. Even the Senas, who succeeded the Pālas in the twelfth century, continued to support Buddhism, even though they seem to have followed Brahmanical traditions. It was not until 1193 that

Islamic armies first penetrated into Bihar and destroyed the leading Buddhist institutions.[20]

The continued prosperity and international fame of the monastic institution at Nālandā under the Pālas is illustrated in Chinese, Tibetan, and epigraphical sources. Although Nālandā became a center for esoteric Buddhism during the Pāla period, it continued to train monks in linguistics, grammar, and monastic rules. Foreign monks from Nepal, Tibet, Sri Lanka, as in the previous periods, studied various religious and non-religious subjects at the institution. The Chinese monk Jiye, who visited India between 966 and 976, reports of seeing Chinese monasteries (*Hansi*) in Nālandā and its vicinity rented out to various foreign students of Buddhism. One of the monasteries, according to him, was located only a few tricents northeast of Nālandā, another in the kingdom of Magadha, and a third was in Rājagṛha (Wangshecheng).[21]

Nālandā also attracted donations from foreign rulers, such as the Śrīvijayan king Bālaputradeva. According to an inscription found at Nālandā, the Śrīvijayan king sent an envoy to the court of Pāla King Devapāla requesting permission to endow a Buddhist monastery to Nālandā. He also petitioned for a "grant to five villages for offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, etc. of the assembly of the venerable bhikśus for the upkeep and repair of the monastery when damaged." The Pāla king is recorded to have granted the requests of the Śrīvijayan king.[22]

The teaching of Buddhist doctrines at Nālandā, in fact, lingered on even after the invasion of Islamic forces in the twelfth century. The Tibetan monk Dharmaśvāmin (Chag Chosrjedpal, 1194–1264), for example, points out the declining state of the monastic institution in 1235. However, he was still able to spend several months studying Buddhist philosophy under the monk Rāhulaśribhadra at the Monastery.[23] Moreover, according to a Korean inscription dedicated to the fourteenth-century Indian monk Tinabotuo (Dinavati; also known as Chanxian [Dhyānabhadra?] and Zhikong [Śūnyādiśya?]), the Indian master was trained and ordained at Nālandā before he traveled to Beijing, the Mongol capital, in 1254.[24] Nālandā seems to have continued to receive support in the thirteenth century from wealthy merchants and the Magadhan king Buddhasena, who had forged an alliance with the local Muslim rulers.[25]

A crucial role in the transmission of Buddhism from India to Tibet and other parts of Asia was also played by the Odantapurī and

Vikramaśīla monasteries. The state funding to these two monasteries, perhaps because they were established by the Pāla rulers, far exceeded what was granted to Nālandā. According to the Tibetan Buddhist historian Tāranātha (1575–1634), Odantapurī permanently housed "a thousand monks belonging to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. Occasionally even twelve thousand monks congregated there."[26] There is little doubt, however, that the leading Buddhist monastery during the Pāla period was Vikramaśīla. Best known for its esoteric teachings, Vikramaśīla also housed experts trained in grammar, logic, and metaphysics. Under King Rāmapāla, according to Tāranātha, "one hundred and sixty Paṇḍitas and about a thousand monks permanently resided in Vikramaśīla. Even five thousand ordained monks assembled there for occasional offerings."[27] Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla continued to train Buddhist monks until 1193, when they were destroyed by Islamic troops.

Buddhist pilgrimage sites in East India also attracted a large number of foreign monks and financial grants from the Pāla rulers. The pilgrimage of Chinese monks to the Buddhist monastery in Bodh Gayā is evidenced by four Song-dynasty inscriptions. P. C. Bagchi dates the first three inscriptions to 1022, and the fourth to 1033.[28] Moreover, rulers from southern India, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar sponsored various restorations of existing parts of the monastery and, at the same time, funded new projects.[29] These Buddhist activities at the leading Buddhist institutions and pilgrimage sites in the Bihar-Bengal region demonstrate that Buddhism in Eastern India had witnessed a resurgence under the Pālas and the monasteries in the region resumed their role in the transmission of the doctrine to foreign countries. In fact, David Snellgrove suggests that during this period Buddhism experienced no decline in Eastern India.[30] Susan and John Huntington also explain,

> Because the Pāla region, with its Buddhist homeland, was so vital to Buddhists everywhere, forms of Buddhism popular in other regions of Asia but not in the Pāla lands at large were also represented at Pāla establishments and holy sites. In Sri Lanka and portions of Southeast Asia during the Pāla period, Buddhism based on the early textual tradition written in the Pāli language was flourishing, and groups of monks practicing this form of Buddhism, probably mostly travellers from other Asian countries, are known to have resided at sites in the Pāla territories.

> . . . Literary evidence from as late as the thirteenth century attests to the Pāli tradition of Buddhists at Bodh Gayā. Therefore, in Pāla period Magadha, some of the most traditional forms of the religion flourished alongside the most progressive thinking then taking place within the walls of the Pāla monasteries and among the tantric practitioners living outside of institutionalized settings.[31]

Similarly, Tibetan records and Buddhist artifacts demonstrate the existence of important Buddhist centers and eminent teachers in Kaśmīr in the post-ninth-century period.[32] Even after the penetration of Islamic forces into northern India, Buddhism, as André Wink points out, continued to persist in the Sind region "underneath or in conjunction with Islam."[33] In fact, many aspects of Tibetan Buddhism are closely associated with Buddhism and Buddhist personalities from Kaśmīr and northern India. Like the Bihar-Bengal area, Kaśmīr had, by the eighth century, become a major center of esoteric Buddhism. And similar to East India, it also produced famous esoteric teachers and logicians. Until about the mid-twelfth century, when Islamic forces took control of the entire region, Kaśmīri monks produced various works on tantra, interacted with the monasteries in East India and Western Tibet, and trained numerous Tibetan monks.[34]

Deserving special mention is Padmasambhava, the Tantric master from the Uḍḍiyāna region, who, on the invitation from the eighth-century Tibetan King Khri-srong lde-brtsan, undertook the task of propagating the teachings of the Buddha in Tibet. The Kaśmīri teacher lived in that country for several years and is thought to have laid the foundation for the development of esoteric Buddhism in Tibet and helped with the establishment of the bSam-yas Monastery. It is at this monastery that, in 797, the great doctrinal debate between the Indian scholar Kamalaśila and the Chinese monk Moheyan (Mahāyāna) took place. Kamalaśila's victory supposedly determined that Tibetan Buddhism would follow the Mādhyamika school of Indian Buddhist philosophy.[35]

After a temporary setback for Tibetan Buddhism in 842, due to the persecution of the doctrine by King gLang-dar-ma (r. 836–842), the restoration process began in 978. Once again the Buddhist community in Tibet, particularly those in western, central, and eastern parts of the country, resumed intimate contacts with eastern India and

Kaśmīr. Tibetan sources record the travels of famous translators, such as Rin-chen bzang-po (958–1055), 'Brog-mi (992–1072), and Mar-pa (1012–1096), to Indian monasteries for training in Buddhist philosophy. One of the famous Indian monks who decided to travel to Tibet in the eleventh century was Atīśa (982–1054). A student and then a teacher at the monastic institutions of Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla, Atīśa is noted to have provided the greatest stimulus to the development of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet.[36] Under the Indian teachers, such as Atīśa, and the Tibetan monks returning from India, Tibet was able to establish a monastic tradition, develop a successful mechanism to translate Indian and Chinese Buddhist texts into Tibetan,[37] and systematize the esoteric literature available in Tibet.

Thus, it is apparent that the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to the neighboring kingdoms continued, with a profusion of contributions from leading Indian monasteries, until about the late eleventh century. The next two sections of this chapter will demonstrate that monks from these renowned Indian monasteries also traveled to China during the post-ninth-century period and participated in the newly revived translation projects under the auspices of the Song court. It will be evident that neither the lack of doctrinal input from India nor the diminished interactions with Indian monastic institutions were the likely causes for the decline in Chinese borrowings from Indian Buddhism.

The Revival and Institutionalization of Song Translation Projects

According to the Song Buddhist historian Zanning (919–1001), no Buddhist texts were translated in China for one hundred and sixty years following the Kapıśa monk (Prajña) translation of the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* (T. 159) during the Yuanhe period (806–821) of the Tang dynasty.[38] Translation activities may have come to a halt because of the gradual disintegration of the Tang empire and the period of disunity that followed it. Although a few Chinese and Indian monks continued to travel between the two countries during this period,[39] translation of Indian Buddhist texts resumed only in the second decade of the Song dynasty.

After two forceful suppressions, one during the reign of Emperor Wuzong of the Tang dynasty and then again under Emperor Shizong (r. 954–956) of the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960), the Chi-

nese Buddhist community witnessed a resurgence under the first four emperors of the Song period—Taizu (r.960–976), Taizong, Zhenzong (r. 998–1022), and Renzong (r. 1023–1063). In fact, almost the entire corpus of Song Buddhist translation was completed under these four emperors.[40] State-supported Buddhist activities began in the fourth year of the Qiande era (966), when the monk Xingqin and one hundred and fifty-seven other members of the Chinese Buddhist community were given permission and provisions by Emperor Taizu to travel to India.[41]

According to the thirteenth-century Buddhist historian Zhipan (fl. 1258–1269), Emperor Taizu took the initiative to dispatch these Buddhist monks to India after issuing an edict that proclaimed the pacification of the highways linking Central Asia. It was, as the emperor is supposed to have said, time to "send monks to the Western Regions in search of [Buddhist] dharma."[42] The emperor also asked the kingdoms of Yanqi and Qiuci (Kucha) in Central Asia, and Kaśmīr in northern India to provide all necessary help to the pilgrims.

Emperor Taizu's support for this pilgrimage may have, as some scholars have pointed out, stemmed from political considerations.[43] Chinese rulers had, at least since the fifth century, patronized eminent Indian monks and Chinese pilgrims returning from India for political purposes and as a way to legitimize their authority. In Chapter 1, for example, it was pointed out that the Tang Emperor Taizong sought the spiritual support of the famous pilgrim Xuanzang in his military offensive against Koguryŏ. In addition, as was discussed in the previous chapter, foreign monks, such as Narendrayaśas, Bodhiruci, and Śikṣānanda interpolated passages into Buddhist texts to legitimize newly established dynasties. Buddhist texts, like these monks, also played a significant role in premodern Chinese politics. While texts translated by Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda served to legitimize political establishments, the Buddhist genre of state-protection texts (*huguo jing*) was employed for staving off wars, famines, and diseases. During the Tang dynasty, the text *Renwang huguo boreboluomiduo jing* (*Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* for Humane Kings Who Wish to Protect Their State, T. 246) was, for example, credited for saving the empire by "quelling" various rebellions. The text became one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in the courts of almost every East Asian kingdom.[44]

With the formation of independent states by the powerful Khitan/Qidan (Liao, 916–1125) and the Tangut (Xi Xia, 1038–1227)

tribes in the tenth and eleventh centuries, both of which endorsed Buddhism as their state ideology and invoked the doctrine for the protection of their armies during battles,[45] Buddhist monks and texts became increasingly entangled in the foreign affairs of East Asia. By the end of the first millennium, as Ruth W. Dunnell has rightly observed, Buddhist exchanges became "an instrument of diplomacy and spying as well as an important element in international protocol and the discourse of imperial legitimacy for all parties to the East Asian order."[46] We shall return to this point shortly.

The first translations of Buddhist texts during the Song period were produced in the sixth year of the Kaibao era (973) when Wang Guicong (fl. 970s), the prefect of Luzhou (present-day Fuxian in Shaanxi province), submitted [*Foshuo dasheng*] *sheng wuliangshou* [*jueding guangming wang rulai tuoluoni*] *jing* (*Aparimitāyur dhāraṇī Sūtra*?, T. 937) and *Qifo zan* (Hymns to the Seven Buddhas, T. 1682) to the court. The texts were translated jointly by the Magadhan monk Fatian (Dharmadeva?, d. 1001), the Chinese monk Fajin (fl. 970s), and the prefect Wang Guicong. While Fatian is credited as the translator, Fajin is noted as the scribe-composer (*zhibi-zhuiwen*), and Wang Guicong acted as the stylist (*runse*).[47]

By the time the above translations were completed, the Song court had already sponsored a number of Buddhist activities. Taizu's permission to the group of Chinese monks wanting to visit the Western Regions in 966 seems to have opened the doors to monks and envoys from various neighboring kingdoms. In fact, Buddhist contacts between China and foreign countries had already resumed in 962 when monks from Khotan reached the Chinese capital. In the same year, Gaochang (present-day Turfan region) sent Buddhist monks with gifts that included the relics of the Buddha.[48] Indian monks started arriving at the Song capital from 971. And in 972, a year before the above translations were presented to the Song court, the emperor had ordered the carving of printing blocks of what later became known as the *Kaibao Tripiṭaka*. In the next two decades the Buddhist exchanges, translation of Buddhist texts, and the state-saṃgha relationship in China all show tremendous growth.

In 980, soon after the Kaśmīri monk Tianxizai (Devaśāntika?, renamed by Emperor Taizong as Faxian [Dharmabhadra?], d. 1000) and the Uḍḍiyāna monk Shihu (Dānapāla?, d. 1018) arrived at the Song capital Kaifeng, Emperor Taizong ordered Zheng Shoujun, who held the title of *Zhongshi* (Imperial Commissioner), to establish

an Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras* in the western section of the Taipingxingguo Monastery.[49] The Institute with three halls, a translation hall (*yijing tang*) hall in the center, a hall for stylists (*runwen tang*) in the east, and a hall for philological assistants (*zhengyi tang*) in the west, was completed in the sixth lunar month (June-July) of 982.

The three leading Indian monks then present in China were all ordered to take residence and work at the Institute. At the same time, the emperor bestowed the title of *Mingjiao dashi* (Great Master of Illustrious Teachings) to Devaśāntika; Dharmadeva received the title of *Chuanjiao dashi* (Great Master of the Transmitted Teachings); and Dānapāla was given the title of *Xianjiao dashi* (Great Master of Manifested Teachings). In addition, teams to assist translation activity, consisting of both clergy and government officials, were assembled at the Institute. The initial translation team included the Chinese monks Fajin, Changjin, and Qingzhao as scribes (*bishou*) and composers (*zhuiwen*); Yang Yue, the *Guanglu qing* (Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainment), and Zhang Ji (933–996), the *Bingbu yuanwai lang* (Vice Director of the Ministry of War), were asked to give final touches to the translated texts; and Liu Suo, the *Dianzhi* (Palace Eunuch), was given the title of *Dujian* (Director-in-chief).[50] The translation project under Devaśāntika is reported to have worked in the following manner:

> On the western side of the Eastern Hall, powder is used to arrange a sacred altar. Each of the four open sides [of the altar] is occupied by an Indian monk. [The Indian monks] keep [reciting] esoteric spells for seven days and nights. Then, a wooden altar is established. [On the wooden altar] the syllable wheel of sages and saints is arranged. [This is] regarded as the Great Ritual *maṇḍala*. The sages and saints are invoked and ablutions are performed using the [sacred] *agha* [vessel]. Incense, flowers, lamps, water, and fruits are presented as offering. Bowing and circumambulating [take place]. In order to deter evil influences, prayers for protection are invoked.
>
> First, the *yizhu* (Chief Translator), [sitting] on the head-seat and facing outwards, expounds the Sanskrit text. Second, the *zhengyi* (Philological Assistant), sitting on the left of the head-seat, reviews and evaluates the Sanskrit text with the Chief Translator. Third, the *zhengwen* (Text Appraiser), sitting on the

right of the head-seat, listens to the oral reading of the Sanskrit text by the Chief Translator in order to check for defects and errors. Fourth, the *shuzi fanxueseng* (Transcriber-monk of Sanskrit), carefully listens to the Sanskrit text [recited by the Chief Translator] and transcribes it into Chinese characters. [The text is] still [in] Sanskrit sound.[51] Fifth, the *bishou* (Translator-scribe) translates Sanskrit sounds into Chinese language.[52] Sixth, the *zhuiwen* (Text Composer) links up the characters and turns them into meaningful sentences.[53] Seventh, the *canyi* (Proof-reader) proofreads the words of the two lands so that there are no errors. Eighth, the *kanding* (Editor) edits and deletes unnecessarily long expressions and fixes the meaning of phrases.[54] Ninth, the *runwen* (Stylist) administers the monks and occupies the seat facing south. [He also] participates in giving style [to the translations].[55]

Neither the state's association with Buddhist translation projects, nor the above painstaking method of translating Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese are unique to the Song period. Huijiao's (497–554) biography of Kumārajīva in *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks), for example, describes the reigning Emperor Yaoxing's interest in the monk's translation activities once he reached China.[56] This, according to Tang Yongtong, marks the beginning of the state's involvement in Buddhist translation activity in China.[57] Later, the Sui Emperor Wen, as discussed in the previous chapter, is also reported to have actively supported the translation projects of Narendrayaśas at the state-funded Daxingshan Monastery.

The unique feature of Song translation projects, however, seems to be the complete centralization of the process under the direction of the state. During previous periods, translation projects led by joint teams of Indian and Chinese monks existed and functioned within many leading Buddhist monasteries—some sponsored by the state and others not. Moreover, before the Song dynasty, the members of the Buddhist community were responsible for deciding the canonical and apocryphal nature of Buddhist texts available in Chinese. During the Song period, the state seems to have played a much greater role in determining the authenticity of Buddhist texts and almost always had a say in the admission of translated works into the Buddhist canon.

The Song court also assumed an active role in staffing the translation teams with Chinese personnel. Although during the previous periods Chinese officials also occasionally participated in Buddhist translation projects,[58] the Song court placed highly influential eunuchs on the translation teams seemingly to monitor the work at the Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras.* The revival of the Buddhist translation project and its institutionalization during the early Song dynasty can be linked to various factors, including Emperor Taizong's personal interest in Buddhist doctrines, his desire to promote literary learning, and the increasing role of Buddhism in East Asian diplomacy.

Taizong's interest in Buddhism can be discerned from his personal interactions with Buddhist monks and his support for the Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras.* In fact, Buddhist and secular works of the period depict Emperor Taizong as a great patron of Buddhism.[59] Not only is he reported to have ordained a large number of Buddhist novices, funded the repair of Buddhist monasteries, and commissioned Buddhist translation and publication projects, he is also known to have visited the Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras* personally, wrote prefaces to some of the translated texts, and voiced his liking for the Buddhist doctrine. In 983, he declared that "the teachings of the Buddha are beneficial for the administration of the state."[60] The emperor also wrote a number of poems eulogizing Buddhism.

Taizong's Buddhist inclinations sometimes drew fire from Confucian officials. A few decades after his death, an official named Tian Kuang (1005–1053), for example, criticized Taizong for venerating the relics of the Buddha and financing new Buddhist monuments.[61] Confucian critics also opposed the state funding of the Buddhist translation project instituted by Taizong. Yet the Song emperor's interest in Buddhist translation and printing projects was intimately linked to his wider goal of promoting ancient Chinese cultural traditions and literary learning in order to establish civil order within the newly established dynasty. Taizong emphasized the reading, collection, and printing of books ranging from Confucian classics to historical documents and argued that the models for abating chaos and governing the country justly could only be found in books.[62] Taizong's son and successor, Emperor Zhenzong, continued this tradition of encouraging the compilation and printing projects as part of state policy.

The fact that Taizong's support for Buddhist translation and printing projects was part of his general emphasis on literary learning is evident from a comment he made in the seventh lunar month (July-August) of 982, when the Indian translators completed their first set of translations. The emperor noted that "Buddhist words, although they are beyond the pale of this world, have points worthy of contemplating. Try reading these [translations] just for the sake of preserving [the Buddha's] teaching, rather than being captivated by it."[63] The Emperor's remarks were probably directed toward the growing numbers, but allegedly decreasing quality of, Buddhist clergy. Four years later, in 986, Taizong made the prerequisites for ordination the ability to recite one hundred pages of the *Lotus Sūtra* and to read three hundred pages of Buddhist texts. [64]

Delighted by the translations produced by the Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras*, Taizong is recorded to have personally donated 100,600,000 strings of cash, bedding, silk, and other miscellaneous objects when he visited the Institute.[65] He also ordered the carving of printing blocks of the newly translated texts and issued an edict allowing their induction into the Buddhist canon.[66] In addition, Sanskrit texts held by the palace, perhaps received as gifts from diplomatic missions, were transferred to the Institute. A year later, in 983, Taizong changed the title of the Institute for the Translation of the *Sūtras* to the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma. The reasons for this change may have included the establishment of a printing facility (Yinjing yuan, Institute for the Printing of the *Sūtras*) within the compounds of the Institute and the added responsibility to train Chinese and foreign monks in Indian and Chinese languages at the Institute. More importantly, the title may have been employed symbolically to assert China's status as the central Buddhist realm.

Indeed, the production of Buddhist texts by the Song court as an instrument of civil policy also extended to foreign affairs and propagandistic activities. Since the founding of the Song dynasty, many smaller kingdoms, and, in particular, the powerful Khitan state in the north had remained unconquered. Two years into his rule, Emperor Taizong took the first steps to secure the northern territories. In early 979, Taizong successfully led his forces into the kingdom of Northern Han (951–979). Within months, however, he faced the reality: Liao, the Khitan kingdom, was militarily too strong to invade and incorporate into the Song empire. The 979 campaign against the Khitan, led personally by Taizong, ended in complete defeat for the Song

forces. The loss was not only a military setback, it was also very humiliating, as the Khitans demanded to be recognized as equals to the Chinese and share the symbolic heaven's mandate. It is possible that Taizong, in order to salvage his empire's insecure status in the East Asian world order, turned to the Buddhist paraphernalia.

It was presumably known to the Song ruler that Tang China, as the recognized Buddhist center in East Asia, attracted foreign students, tribute, and veneration from the people in the surrounding regions. In fact, the Buddhist mission to the Western Regions funded by Emperor Taizu seems to have similarly encouraged embassies, tribute carriers, and students from neighboring regions to visit the Song court.[67] Moreover, since the founding of the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma and establishment of the printing office, Buddhist texts and canons produced by the organization had become cherished items in Song China's diplomatic relations with the neighboring kingdoms. Korea, Uighur, Vietnam, and Xi Xia requisitioned four sets of the canon as soon as the publication commenced. For these kingdoms, as Frederick Mote has aptly pointed out, "Chinese translations of the scriptures were the instrument by which they penetrated the teachings of the Lord Buddha." This demand for Chinese Buddhist texts among the neighboring states, in turn, as Mote notes, reinforced the Chinese claim that China was the only high civilization in the world.[68]

Although *Song hui yao* (Draft History of the Song Dynasty) notes that the Institute for the Printing of the *Sūtras* was abolished in the fourth year of the Xining period (1071),[69] it seems that printing may have resumed after a hiatus of only a few months. In 1073, the Tangut request for a sixth set of the Buddhist canon was granted.[70] And in the first or the second year of the Yuanfu era (1098/1099), when a Vietnamese embassy requested a set of the Buddhist canon, the Institute for the Printing the *Sūtras* was ordered to print a copy.[71] The Institute is also recorded to have undertaken the revision of the Kaibao edition of the *tripiṭaka* between 1069 and 1078.[72] The Song court, which seems to have been in competition with the Khitans for the distribution of the Buddhist canon,[73] graciously gave (and sometimes sold) the copies whenever a foreign ambassador requested a set. The Tanguts, for example, not only received six sets of the Buddhist canon on separate occasions, they also established their own translation office, modeled after the Song Institute. The Koreans, too, obtained multiple sets of the canon and commissioned the carving

of their own printing blocks. Lewis Lancaster notes that the Korean court "hoped that the merit to be acquired from such a project would help to defend the nation against such invaders as the Liao forces."[74]

Indeed, the position of Buddhism as a symbol of elite culture and the potent role the doctrine often played in legitimizing temporal rule was recognized by a number of East and Central Asian kingdoms. Especially in the case of the Khitans and Tanguts, Buddhist doctrines, after amalgamating with indigenous belief systems, facilitated social unification and state formation. At the same time, the proclamation of Buddhism as a state ideology enhanced the prestige of these semi-nomadic states among the steppe people.[75] In fact, the emergence of Liao as a powerful Buddhist state resulted in the establishment of two contesting dissemination centers of Buddhist doctrines and texts in East Asia, the Song capital and the Liao state. Ruth Dunnell, for example, points out that Song China, given the political tensions between Tanguts and Khitans, was the major source for Xi Xia Buddhism.[76] Before being occupied by the Tanguts, the Tibetan tribes of Hexi also used Buddhism in their diplomatic interactions with Song, Xi Xia, and Liao.[77]

It seems that kingdoms (such as Koryŏ) that saw Liao as an adversary often approached the Song court for Buddhist canons. The Song emperors, recognizing that the Liao rulers had elevated their status as competing Sons of Heaven, may have found some solace in such requests. It was perhaps in order to meet the demands of neighboring kingdoms and maintain strategic diplomatic alliance with them that the Song emperors turned down repeated requests to close the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma and the printing press attached to it. Moreover, the fact that the Institute functioned under the *Honglu si*, the bureau in charge of diplomatic affairs, also suggests a close link between the translation of Buddhist texts, the court-authorized induction of the newly translated texts into the canon and their subsequent publication, and Song China's diplomatic interactions with foreign countries.

The Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma had been, however, plagued by serious problems since its foundation. In 1027, monks working at the Institute requested the closure of the Institute due to lack of new Indian manuscripts.[78] Fourteen years later, in 1041, it was reported that the Institute had too many Sanskrit man-

uscripts but limited funding to sustain the translation projects.[79] After the death of Sūryakīrti in 1078, the situation seems to have worsened.[80] Chinese monks at the Institute reported that they were unable to continue the translation project and "begged" (*qi*) for the termination of all translation activities. The emperor, in response, issued an edict which ordered the monks to continue working at the Institute and asked them to "wait until the arrival of Indian monks versed in [the Buddhist] teachings so that the translation [projects] can be resumed."[81] However, no prominent Indian monk seems to have worked at the Institute, nor is there any record of significant translation activity undertaken during the rest of the Song period.

In addition to the logistic problems encountered by the Song translators, the court officials frequently criticized the translation activity and, in particular, the state financing of translation projects. They often requested that the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma be closed. In the second year of Xianping era (999), for example, Chen Shu (944–1022), the *Libu shilang* (Vice Minister of the Ministry of Rites), pointing to the fact that the funds given to the Institute had mounted into the billions, demanded its elimination.[82] Later, the *Zhongcheng* (Vice Censor-in-chief) Kong Fudao, voicing similar concerns, also implored Emperor Renzong to shut down the Institute.[83]

Opposition and criticism of the state-funded Buddhist translation projects by Confucian officials is understandable. But why would Buddhist clergy also seek the closure of the Institute? It has been suggested that the institutionalization of the translation projects, and the resulting lack of autonomy in translation activity, convinced the Buddhist monks at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma to seek the termination of the translation projects. "[T]he direct control of the government," Jan Yün-hua rightly observes, "dependence on court and loss of autonomy of the Institute diminished its own creativeness. To a large extent, this made the Institute a more or less ceremonial rather than an actual organization which limited itself to the court monks and official *elite* with no opportunity to contact the Sangha."[84] The Song court's supervision over the translation projects may indeed have caused some of the discontent among the translators at the Institute, but as the following discussion demonstrates, many of the problems that the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma encountered lay beyond the control of the Song court.

Indian Monks and Translators in Song China

Of the forty-seven Indian monks who reached China between 977 and 1032, eight were natives of Middle India, four came from North India, three arrived from South India, two were from West India, and the rest were described in the Song sources simply as "Indians" (*Tianzhu ren*). The monks from Middle India presented twenty-six Buddhist texts to the Song court; those from the North brought thirty-nine *sūtras*; the South Indian monks presented ten texts; the monks from West India brought twenty-six; and those designated as "Indians" presented a total of one hundred and thirty-one works.[85] During the same period, about seventy-eight Chinese monks returned from India with two hundred and eight texts. What is striking, however, is the fact that only four Indian monks, Dharmadeva, Dharmabhadra, Dānapāla, and Fahu (Dalimoboluo=Dharmapāla)[86] were extensively engaged in Song translation projects. Two other Indian monks, Zhijixiang (Jñānaśrī?) and Sūryakīrti, arrived in the latter part of the Northern Song period and translated only a handful of texts. And among the Chinese monks, the only one who figured prominently in the translation activities was Weijing (973–1051), who never visited India, but was trained in Buddhism and Sanskrit at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma in the Song capital.[87]

One of the first Indian monks to start working at the Song Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma was Dharmadeva.[88] Originally from a *kṣatriya* family in Middle India, Dharmadeva studied and taught at Nālandā before his arrival in China in 971. Dharmadeva is supposed to have left India along with his brother Dalimoluochaduo (Dharmalakṣaṇa?), a West Indian monk Niluo (Nīla?), and Nimotuozhilidi (Nirmitakīrti?), a monk from South India.[89] However, only Dharmadeva and his brother managed to reach China. Although no information is available about Dharmalakṣaṇa's activities in China, Dharmadeva is credited, and best known, for producing the first translations during the Song period.

In 982, when he joined the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma, Dharmadeva was given the title of the Great Master who Transmits the [Buddhist] Teachings by Emperor Taizong. Later in 989, when he had translated about twenty-six texts and participated in many other translation projects at the Institute, Dharmadeva received the title of *Shi Honglu qing* (Acting Chief Minister of State Ceremonies).[90] Dharmadeva died in the eighteenth day of the fifth lunar month of the Xianping era (June 12, 1001), and was subse-

quently bestowed the posthumous title of *xuanjue* (Profound and Enlightened). He was cremated in the Xiangfu county of the capital on the sixth day of the seventh lunar month (July 28) of 1001.[91] There are forty-four extant translations in sixty-three scrolls that can be attributed to Dharmadeva.[92]

Joining Dharmadeva at the inauguration of the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma were Devaśāntika and Dānapāla. Devaśāntika, a native of Kaśmīr, entered the Milin (Tamasāvana saṃghārama?) Monastery in Jālandhara at the age of twelve to receive training in *Śabdavidyā* (grammar and philology). He embarked on his journey to China along with Dānapāla, his paternal cousin and a native of Uḍḍiyāna. On their way to China, however, Devaśāntika and Dānapāla were detained for months by the ruler of Dunhuang. Although most of their possessions were confiscated, the two monks managed to escape and reached the Song capital in the second lunar month of the fifth year of the Taipingxingguo era (February-March 980) with a few scrolls of Buddhist texts.[93]

After joining the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma, Devaśāntika took great pains to sustain and improve the newly revived translation project under the Song dynasty. In 983, for example, he requested that the Song court make provisions for fifty novices to learn Sanskrit and aid in the translation project at the Institute. In his memorial to the emperor, Devaśāntika wrote that he feared that the number of qualified Indian monks able to come to China would decline compared to previous periods because of the chaotic situation at the borders. In response, the court sent ten persons, including Weijing, to study at the Institute. A native of Jinling (present-day Nanjing), Weijing is noted to have shown tremendous talent in learning and understanding Sanskrit texts. Within a year, he was ordained and began participating in the translation projects as a translator-scribe.[94]

In the second year of the Yongxi era (985), Devaśāntika, perhaps for his efforts to improve translation activity, was given the titles of *Chaosan dafu* (Grand Master for Closing Ceremonies) and Acting Chief Minister of State Ceremonies. In 987, the emperor changed his name from Devaśāntika to Dharmabhadra (Faxian). After his death in the third year of the Xianping era (1000), the posthumous title of *huibian* (Wise and Eloquent) was bestowed upon Devaśāntika. There are ninety-four extant translations in one hundred seventy-seven scrolls that can be attributed to Devaśāntika/Dharmabhadra (hereafter referred to by his latter name).[95]

Dharmabhadra's paternal cousin Dānapāla was the most productive of the Indian translators in Song China. A record of one hundred and eleven Song translations are attributed to him. Dānapāla is noted to have studied various forms of scripts prevalent in the five regions of India, and also learned the scripts of Khotan, Śrīvijaya, and Java.[96] In the twelfth lunar month of the fifth year of the Xianping period (December 1002-January 1003), about a year and half after the deaths of Dharmadeva and Dharmabhadra, Dānapāla was given the title of *Shi Guanglu qing* (Acting Chief Minister of the Court of Imperial Entertainment).[97] And after his own death in 1018, Dānapāla was bestowed the posthumous title of *mingwu* (illustrious and enlightened).[98]

The fourth Indian monk to play a key role at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma was Dharmapāla. A native of Kaśmīr, he studied Brahmanical scriptures, including the four *Vedas*, before joining the Jiangukaigong (Vikramaśīla?) Monastery in Magadha.[99] At Vikramaśīla, Dharmapāla studied the monastic laws and received training in linguistics. In 1004, when he arrived in China, Dharmapāla was bestowed a robe by the emperor and housed at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma.[100] A year later, he was asked to participate in the translation projects as a *zhengfanwen* (Appraiser of Sanskrit Texts); and in 1007 he was given the title of *Chuanfan dashi* (Great Master who Transmitted Sanskrit).[101] Two years later, Emperor Zhenzong praised Dharmapāla's expertise by announcing that he "is accomplished in scholarship and training. He is prepared to extensively propagate [the Buddhist teachings]."[102] In 1015, a purple robe was bestowed on Dharmapāla.[103] Dharmapāla died in the third year of the Jiayou era (1058) at the age of ninety-six. Many of Dharmapāla's translations were completed with the help of Weijing. Both Dharmapāla and Weijing are also credited for compiling the Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary *Jingyou Tianzhu ziyuan* (Phrasebook of Indian Words [Compiled during the] Jingyou [Period]).[104]

Two other Indian monks who are credited with translating Buddhist texts at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma were Jñānaśrī and Sūryakīrti. Jñānaśrī is recorded to have arrived in 1054 and translated only two works.[105] The West Indian monk Sūryakīrti,[106] who had the designation of Acting Chief Minister of State Ceremonies and given the posthumous title of *chanjiao* (Elucidator of [Buddhist] Teachings) in 1078, has nine extant translations.[107]

Together, the above six Indian monks translated more than two hundred and sixty texts. In spite of the large number of translations, the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma was adversely affected by a severe shortage of Indian experts. This problem is reflected in the memorials presented by the monks working at the Institute to the court, the edicts issued by the early Song emperors, and also, as will be discussed below, in the length and kind of texts selected for translation. Dharmabhadra's request, a year after translation activity began at the Institute, for Chinese novices who could be trained in Sanskrit is one of the first indications of the dire situation. A few years later, in 985, Emperor Taizong ordered that Indian monks currently in China and well-versed in Sanskrit should take residence at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma.[108] Moreover, in order to maintain a steady supply of new Buddhist texts from India, the emperor, in 992, issued an edict requiring Indian monks and Chinese clergy returning from India to present the Sanskrit texts they acquired to the court.[109]

Perhaps as a result of these steps, Indian monks coming to China and the number of Buddhist texts presented to the Song court increased significantly. However, of the more than fifty Indian monks who arrived in China between 985 and 1085, only three (Dharmapāla, Jñānaśrī, and Sūryakīrti) served in the Buddhist translation projects at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma. The contribution of the Chinese monks returning from India is even more dismal. As Jan Yün-hua points out, of the one hundred eighty-three Chinese pilgrims who returned after pilgrimage to India, only one seems to have worked at the Institution for the Transmission of the Dharma.[110]

It is indeed puzzling that although Indian monks visited Song China in large numbers, the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma continued to encounter a shortage of qualified translators. It is evident from the Buddhist catalogues compiled during the Song dynasty that a majority of the Indian monks arriving in China did not participate in translation projects. Most of these Indian monks, it seems, came to Song China for pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, which, as outlined in the previous chapter, was perceived by the Indian clergy as the principle residence of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In 1010, for example, the Central Indian monk Juecheng (Bodhikīrti?), who was initially housed at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma, expressed his desire to pay homage to Mañjuśrī at Mount

Wutai before returning to India.[111] Similarly, in 1073, a group of Indian monks, in accordance to their wishes, was escorted to the mountain for pilgrimage.[112] Most of these monks may have returned to India after completing their pilgrimages.

There were other Indian monks, especially those appearing at the Song court as Indian envoys, who may have come to China with the intent to trade, rather than transmit Buddhist doctrines or make pilgrimage to Mount Wutai. The intimate connection between tribute carriers and trade is well established. Especially during the Song period, as Shiba Yoshinobu and Robert Hartwell have demonstrated, a variety of commercial transactions related to foreign tribute, such as taxes levied on the sale of tribute in the local markets and the sale of the tribute items by the government, supplied much needed funds to the imperial treasuries.[113] The tribute carriers, too, as explained in the next chapter, profited enormously from their interaction with the Song court. Buddhist monks from Central, South, and Southeast Asia, as Song sources reveal, actively took part in such tributary missions to the Song court. Although some of these tribute-carrying monks were housed at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma, very few actually took part in the translation projects. In fact, the Japanese monk Jōjin (1011–1081), who traveled in China between 1072 and 1081 and lived at the Institute for some duration, notes four newly arrived Indian monks at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma who were eager to return to India. They did not have the will or, as Jōjin seems to suggest, the ability to participate in the translation projects.[114]

Tribute items brought to the Song court by Indian monk-envoys also testify to the commercial nature of their trip. In 980, for example, monk Luohuluo (Rāhula?) from Middle India presented about 17,000 catties of spices, aromatics, and pharmaceuticals to the Song emperor.[115] Horses of fine breed were presented to the Chinese court by the Indian monks Beixian (Karuṇābhadra?) and Jixian (Jinabhadra?) in 1013. In 1082, monk Jialuochiduo (Jñānagupta?) brought a tribute of an "imperial" quality horse.[116] Between 1010 and 1089, Indian monks presented about 85,000 catties of aromatics and medicine that were in high demand in Chinese markets.[117] Even Buddhist texts and relics, which almost every Indian monk-envoy presented to the Song court, had become priceless commodities in East Asian markets. Monks from other Asian kingdoms, such as the

Ganzhou Uighur and Tibet, seem to have similarly carried out commerce under the Buddhist façade. The causes and implications of these commercial missions of Buddhist monks are discussed in detail in the next two chapters.

The fact that some Buddhist monks were engaged in activities other than the transmission of the dharma, it seems, was known to the Chinese court. In 991, the Song court issued an edict that required Indian missionaries and the returning Chinese pilgrims entering China through various prefectures to disclose the Buddhist texts and relics they were bringing. Only after complying with this requirement were the monks allowed to have audience at the court.[118] More than three decades later, in 1025, the Song court issued another edict that ordered the authorities at the borders to "stop foreign monks from bringing tribute and not to send them to the capital."[119] Suspicions about Chinese monks traveling to the Western Regions were also raised by some Song officials. In 1003, for example, Chen Shu, then the prefect of the Song capital Kaifeng, presented the following memorial to the Song court:

> I beg to report the fact that most of the monks who wish to go to India are not well trained in their studies. They only studied for a short period, and their manners are ordinary and ugly. Moreover, on their journey from China to the foreign lands they would pass through a number of countries. If people there see these monks they will despise and look down on our country. Thus, the registrar of monks should be ordered to give a canonical examination to these monks and send the qualified monks to the prefecture for a further examination. Only the monks who have qualified from these two examinations would be allowed to proceed to the western regions.[120]

It is not only the attire of the Chinese pilgrims that may have concerned Chen Shu. The prefect, it seems, was also suspicious about the real identity and intention of the underqualified monks going to India. Although Emperor Zhenzong dismissed Chen Shu's recommendation as petty criticism, the prefect's concerns and views about the Chinese pilgrims going to India seem confirmed by the fact that they, like many of the tribute-bearing Indian monks, have little to show for their contribution to the transmission of Buddhist doctrines.

The Problems and Failure of Song Translations

Due to a dearth of Indian monks interested in the arduous task of translation, it is evident that the Song Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma was handicapped almost from the moment it was established. The paucity of local talent, due to the absence of translation activity in China during the preceding century and a half, made the situation even more debilitating. The aim here is not to perform a linguistic analysis of the translated texts and demonstrate the inaccuracies of the Song translators. Like the translators in the past, it is conceivable that the Indian monks working at the Song Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma also made mistakes in interpreting various Indic terms. Given the fact that the Indian translators at the Institute, like the early transmitters of Buddhism in China, possessed little or no knowledge of Chinese, their translations may indeed have contained numerous linguistic errors.[121] In such situations when translation projects lacked bilingual specialists, the presence of any number of collators and editors did not necessarily ensure accurate translations.[122] Although linguistic errors may have been a contributing factor, the severe shortage of qualified translators, a limited access to new Buddhist texts from South Asia, and, especially the shift in the doctrinal interest of the Song Buddhist community toward indigenous schools and texts seems to have had a more significant impact on the quality and success of Song translations.

The Problems with Manuscripts and the Shortage of Qualified Translators

At first glance, the Song translations seem quite voluminous. According to Song Buddhist bibliographers, two hundred and sixty-three translations were produced by the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma between 982 and 1037.[123] Takeuchi Kōzan has assessed that one hundred twenty-three Buddhist texts in two hundred twenty-eight scrolls translated during this period were esoteric texts; forty-four texts in one hundred sixty-nine scrolls belonged to the Mahāyāna tradition; fifty texts in seventy-nine scrolls were Nikāya texts; six texts in one scroll each were Vinayas of the Nikāya tradition; fourteen texts in forty-nine scrolls were Abhidharma texts; and twenty-four texts in forty scrolls were designated as the works of "Western sages and wise men" (*Xifang shengxian ji*).[124] A majority of texts, a total of one hun-

dred seventy-seven, originated from Middle India, nine texts were from West India, one from North India, and the origin of the rest are unknown. Takeuchi also notes that thirteen *sūtras* from Middle India were written in "Kuchean" script (a variation of Brāhmī).[125]

Although quantitatively the Song translations come close to the number of Buddhist texts translated during the Tang period, the average length of these texts is, in fact, much shorter. According to the Tang catalogue *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (Records of Buddhist Teachings [during the] Kaiyuan [Era]), in one hundred and thirteen years since the founding of the Tang dynasty, i.e., from 618 to 730, three hundred and one texts in two thousand one hundred seventy scrolls were translated.[126] The Song translators in almost half the time completed the translation of two hundred sixty-three texts. However, while the average length of texts translated during the Tang period was 7.2 scrolls, the Song translators averaged only 2.1 scrolls per translation. The Song translations, thus, are not as voluminous as they seem to be at the first look.

In fact, a majority of Song translations are short esoteric *dhāraṇīs* or mantras that follow a fixed template. The texts begin with *gāthās* (verses), or the set Buddhist openers "thus I have heard . . ." or "at one time the Buddha/Bhagavat/Thatāgatha was at . . ." Next, the texts briefly state the benefits of reciting the *dhāraṇīs* contained in that particular work. The remaining part of the texts, ranging anywhere between one-third and three-fourths, is devoted to transcription of the *dhāraṇīs*. In addition, some of these short texts, such as Dharmadeva's *Qifo zan baiqieta* (*Saptabuddha stotra*?, T.1682), *Wenshushili yibaiba ming fanzaṇ* (*Mañjuśrīnāmāṣṭaśataka stotra*?, T. 1197), *Shengguan zizai pusa fanzan* (*Avalokitśvarabodhisattva stotra*?, T.1055), and *Qianzhi fanzan* (*Gaṇḍhīstotra gāthā*?, T. 1683) are either entirely transcriptions of Sanskrit or have very few translated sentences. The rationale for the transcription of Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs* is made in one of Dharmadeva's memorials to the emperor, in which he explains that, since the esoteric mantras, which were purported to have miraculous powers, are meant to be recited, they need not be translated. "Those who recite [the mantras]," Dharmadeva explained to the Song emperor, "will acquire great merits."[127] Moreover, the Sanskrit-Chinese phrase-book, *Jingyou Tianzhu ziyuan*, compiled by Dharmapāla and Weijing, confirms the Indian monks' preference for transcription as the work addresses the needs of *transcribers* and not *translators* of Buddhist texts.[128]

In addition to the perceived miraculous and merit-granting powers of *dhāraṇīs*, the shorter texts may have been produced to meet the Song court's requirement for new texts before every imperial birthdays and festivals. Song Minqiu (1019–1079), a noted Song scholar, reports that, "Each year [during imperial] birthdays [and] festivals, [the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma] was required to present new texts. Two months ahead [of such festivities], the [members of the] Two Administrations (i.e., the Bureau of Military Affairs and the Office of Grand Councilor) would gather to watch the translations [of new texts]. This is called 'to commence proceedings' (*kaitang*). . . . One month before [the birthdays and festivals], the Commissioner of Translations (*Yijing shi*) and the Stylists would once again gather to present the new texts. This is called 'to close the proceedings'" (*bitang*).[129] With limited number of Indian translators working at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma, the pressure to produce new translations may have prompted the selection of shorter and less complicated texts. Moreover, by impressing the court with the volume of translation, the translators were able to exhibit the diligent execution of their duties and, thus, procure funding from the Song court.

This is not to say that the Song translators did not attempt to produce translation of longer and more complicated Buddhist texts. In fact, the Indian monks translated two of most important of the esoteric texts, the *Hevajratantra* in five scrolls and the *Guhyasamājatantra* in seven scrolls. However, the translations of the two texts, which purported the attainment of Buddhahood in the present lifetime, have their own problems. The translation of the *Hevajratantra*, as Charles Willemen points out, lacks clarity because it attempts to avoid explicit discussions on sexual yoga, one of the important elements of esoteric consecration ritual. Willemen suggests that Dharmapāla, the Indian translator of the text, concerned about the Song court's censorship of the text, was "tactful" in rendering it but, in turn, produced a translation that would have appeared mysterious and difficult to grasp for the Chinese audience.[130]

Although not openly stated in Song records and Buddhist sources of the period, there are a number of clues that indicate the Song court's concern about the contents of esoteric texts. One incident, dated to 993, notes a Khotanese monk called Jixiang who presented the Buddhist text titled *Dasheng mizang jing* (Mahāyāna esoteric *sūtra*) to the Chinese court. When Dharmabhadra and others were

asked to verify its authenticity, it was found that the text was in "Khotanese script and not in Indian. [Moreover], there was no mention of either the questioner or the audience. [And] at least on sixty-five places the teachings in the text were incorrect." The text was subsequently declared apocryphal and burnt to ashes.[131] A similar situation seems to have been created in 1017, when the translation of the esoteric text known as the *Pinnayejia jing* (*Vināyaka sūtra*?) was produced. According to Zhipan, the text, for some unspecified reason, was barred from inclusion in the Buddhist canon by the court. It was also ordered that texts of similar kind never be translated.[132]

The translated versions of the *Hevajratantra* and the *Guhyasamājatantra* seem to also demonstrate the inadequate expertise among Indian translators regarding esoteric literature dealing with mystical aspects of yoga (i.e., Anuttarayogatantra).[133] Yukei Matsunaga, commenting on the Chinese translations of the *Hevajratantra* and the *Guhyasamājatantra*, writes, "When we compare the Chinese translations of the *Guhyasāmja-tantra* and *Hevajra-tantra* to their respective Sanskrit texts and Tibetan translations, we notice an abundance of mistranslations in the Chinese. It may well be that the Chinese translators translated these texts with scarcely any knowledge at all of Anuttarayogatantra."[134] Matsunaga's assessment, at least in the case of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, is corroborated in the Song catalogue *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu* (Record of the Dharma Treasures [Compiled during the] Dazhongxiangfu [Reign Period]). In the eleventh lunar month (November-December) of 1002, when the Chinese translation of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, along with the one-scroll translation of the *Zhujiao jueding mingyi lun* (T. 1658), was presented to the emperor,[135] Dānapāla failed to mention the importance of what Hajime Nakamura calls, "the most profound of Buddhist Tantras."[136] Instead, the Indian monk, in his report to the emperor, emphasized the significance of esoteric syllables found in the latter, a much shorter and relatively unimportant, text. Although a brief summary of the *Guhayasamājatantra* is given in the catalogue, it seems that neither the compilers of the catalogue nor Dānapāla himself were aware of the significance of the text.

The work of Song translators was further complicated by the fact that some of the new texts were written in the regional scripts of India. The translators had to transpose the script of such Indic manuscripts into one they were more familiar with before rendering them into Chinese. The *Baiyi jinchuang er poluomen yuanqi jing* (T. 10),

for instance, was first transposed from the script of West India (*Xi Tianzhu shu*) to the script of Middle India (*Zhong Tianzhu zi*) and then translated into Chinese.[137] There is also a record of an Indic manuscript, the title of which has not survived, that was transposed from Sri Lankan script (*Shiziguo shu*) to an Indian script before it was translated into Chinese. It is not clear what specific scripts are referred to here, but, as Richard Salomon has pointed out, the regional differentiation in Brāhmī-derived scripts increased in India during the fourth through the sixth centuries.[138] By the end of the sixth century, very distinct Brāhmī-derived scripts, such as Siddhamātṛkā in northern India, Proto-Śāradā in the northwest, and Grantha in the far south, had emerged in South Asia.[139] This regional differentiation seems to have made the task of translating newly copied/compiled Buddhist texts from India more arduous and time consuming for the Song translators. Of more concern was the fact that some of the Indian translators, as is reported in Jōjin's dairy, were unable to read and, as a result, translate new texts written in increasingly diverse regional scripts.[140]

The shortage of translators, the inadequate understanding of regional scripts, and the pressure to produce new texts seem to have instigated some of the Indian translators to seek the closure of the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma. In 1027, for example, monks Dharmapāla and Weijing sternly pointed out to Emperor Zhenzong the problem of obtaining new texts from South Asia. Noting the fact that the envoys from five regions of India were presenting Buddhist texts that were already translated into Chinese, Dharmapāla asked permission to return to India for good. Weijing, on the other hand, requested that he be transferred to another monastery. Essentially the two monks wanted the emperor to end translation activities at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma as they may have found it difficult to meet the requirement of presenting new texts.[141] The requests by the two monks were rejected, and the court, as noted above, took a number of steps to address the problem. These measures, including requiring Indian monks coming to or the Chinese monks returning from India to surrender Buddhist texts they carried to state authorities, seem to be so successful that by 1041 the Chinese monks at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma were complaining not about the availability of Indian texts but of the absence of qualified Indian translators.

It is clear, however, that the texts that the Institute continued to receive were later versions of those previously translated into Chinese. Thirteen of forty-four works attributed to Dharmadeva, for example, are translations of such texts. His translation of the *Dafangguang zong chi bao guangming jing* (*Ratnalokādhāraṇī Sūtra*, T. 299), completed in 983, is actually a later translation of the sixteenth scroll of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* translated by Śikṣānanda during the Tang dynasty. Similarly, Dharmabhadra's ninety-four works include at least twenty-two texts that are works previously rendered into Chinese; at least thirty-seven works attributed to Dānapāla were already available to the Chinese clergy; and three of Dharmapāla's twelve translations, including one of his longest works (*Dasheng pusa zangzhengfajing*, *Mahāyānabodhisattva piṭaka?*, T. 316), had also been previously translated. The texts contained in the *Chang ahan jing* (*Dīrghāgama Sūtra*, T. 1), the *Zhong ahan jing* (*Madhyamāgama Sūtra*, T.26), and *Dabao ji jing* (*Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*, T.310) seem to have been most easily accessible to the Indian monks at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma.

In many cases, the Song translators referred to and used previously translated Chinese texts to render, what appears to be, new manuscripts of older texts. This may have made the task of translators somewhat easier and helped them meet the requirements of the court. Shaode and Huixun's translation of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, that was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is an example of a text that was rendered with the help, or indeed "plagiarized," from a previously translated work. The translation may have been plagiarized due to the absence of Indian experts and pressure from the court to continue the production of new translations. This is not to say, as Richard Bowring has argued, that plagiarism was nonexistent among Indian translators.

The fact that the Indian translators working at the Institute also "plagiarized" from preexisting texts can be readily observed in Dharmabhadra's translation of the *Fa ji yaosong jing* (*Udānavarga*, T. 213). The translation, done in collaboration with Dharmadeva (who acted as the Philological Assistant for Sanskrit), Dānapāla (who acted as the Sanskrit Text Appraiser), and more than ten other Chinese monks and officials, was completed in the sixth lunar month of the second year of the Yongxi period (June-July 985).[142] As Charles Willemen has pointed out, Dharmabhadra's "translation" is extensively borrowed from the *Chu yao jing* (T. 212), a version of the Buddhist

Dharmapada translated by Saṃghabhadra and Zhu Fonian in 399. "It is obvious," Willemen writes, "that F.S. (i.e., *Fa ji yaosong ji*) used Ch.Y. (i.e.,*Chu yao jing*) to a very large extent, either merely borrowing from it or else making the verses of Ch.Y. pentasyllabic."[143] Indeed, a comparison of the two texts reveals that while Dharmabhadra and the collaborators left out the narrative portion of the *Chu yao jing*, they copied or slightly modified many of the verses already found in the earlier text. Even some of the mistakes in the earlier translation, Willemen points out, have slipped into the Song translation. Although omission of the narrative part gave the Song text a new look, the content and wording of the *Fa ji yaosong jing* is essentially the same as the fourth-century translation.

It must also be pointed out here that many important works of later Indian Buddhist schools are missing from the Song translations. Prominent among such works are those belonging to the schools of Mādhyamika philosophy and Buddhist logic. While Mādhyamika philosophy became the basis of scholastic tradition in Tibet,[144] texts on logic, especially those written by Dignāga (c.480–540) and Dharmakīrti (600–660), played an important role in the later Buddhist traditions in Bihar, Orissa, Kaśmīr, and also influenced philosophical aspects of Tibetan Buddhism.[145] In fact, some Buddhist monks in India used these philosophically sophisticated texts to entice those Indian intellectuals discouraged by the ritualistic aspect of esoteric Buddhism. Either due to inadequate expertise in Mādhyamika philosophy and Buddhist logic or due to a limited supply of texts belonging to the two traditions, or perhaps both, such works are not found among the Song translations.

The Sinification of Buddhism and the Changing Chinese Perception of India

The factor ultimately responsible for the failure of Song translations and the corresponding termination of the Buddhist phase of Sino-Indian interactions was neither the shortage of Indian translators, the linguistic errors in the Song translations, nor even the Song court's supervision of translation activities. Rather, it was the definitive form that sinified Buddhist schools were able to attain during the Song period that made translated Indic texts and their contents virtually irrelevant to the contemporary Buddhist clergy and the lay society. Thus, while the Indian monks at the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma had legitimate reasons to complain about the short-

age of qualified translators and display their dissatisfaction with the strict requirements and supervision by the state, the fact is that their translations had limited readership among the Song Buddhist community. In fact, it seems that the translations produced by the Institute were meant not for the Buddhist clergy in China but were used only to demonstrate the court's emphasis on literary learning and employed for propagandist activities and in its diplomatic relations with neighboring countries.

The popularity of Chinese Buddhist schools emphasizing indigenous teachings and texts during the Song period testifies to the evolution of Chinese Buddhism away from the India-centered teachings that were prevalent in China during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. This evolution, which began taking a concrete form during the Sui-Tang period, was marked by the growing popularity of indigenous practices and teachings; and, as noted in the previous chapter, the gradual elimination of the borderland complex among the members of the Chinese Buddhist community. These developments seem to have retrenched the need for Indic texts and doctrines and, at the same time, also diminished the significance of Indian translators and transmitters of Buddhist doctrines in China.[146]

The accurate translation of Indic texts and their faithful interpretation in accordance to the original intent of their Indian authors had, as Stanley Weinstein points out, exemplified the earlier era of India-centered Buddhism in China. The Sui and Tang commentators, on the other hand, "clearly felt themselves free to interpret the sutras of their schools on the basis of their own religious experience, often showing no concern whether a particular interpretation was at all feasible from the standpoint of the original text."[147] These attempts to deviate from the teachings of the original Indian texts and formulate Buddhist doctrines more amenable to the needs of Chinese population resulted in the founding of sinified schools such as Zhiyi's (538–597) Tiantai and Fazang's (643–712) Huayan. The doctrines of the sinified Buddhist schools, Weinstein explains, were

> characterized by a high degree of syncretism, embodied most of the features that have come to distinguish the "Chinese" Buddhism of the T'ang period from the Buddhism of the preceding period of exegesis: a Chinese patriarchate, emphasis on religious practice, recognition of the possibility of attaining enlightenment in this life, a belief in the ultimate salvation of

all sentient beings, and lastly, a free, openly subjective, interpretation of scripture.[148]

Weinstein's point about the formation of a Chinese patriarchate in the above explanation is specially noteworthy for discerning the declining relevance of translators and their contributions to Chinese Buddhism. Kumārajīva and Buddhabhadra, for example, were respectively excluded as patriarchs of the Tiantai and Huayan schools even though their translations had formed the doctrinal basis for the two sinified schools. While the *Lotus Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva was at the core of the Tiantai school, Fazang's Huayan school originated from the teachings contained in Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra.* Even Xuanzang, who had founded the Faxiang school based on Yogācāra texts procured from India, failed to gain recognition as the patriarch of his own school. Instead, his disciple Cien (a.k.a., Kuaiji, d. 682), who wrote commentaries on Xuanzang's translations, was given the status of the first patriarch.[149] Similarly, by the Song period, the followers of Chan Buddhism started attaching more importance to the Chinese monk Huineng (638–713), the sixth patriarch, instead of Bodhidharma, the acclaimed Indian transmitter of Chan teachings.[150]

It has been suggested that the sinification of Buddhism was completed in three major stages. The first stage is known to have occupied the third and fourth centuries when Chinese terms and notions, especially those from the *Xuanxue* ("Neo-Daoism") tradition, were used to explain Buddhist ideas. The second stage, beginning from Kumārajīva's arrival in China in 401 and extending through to the sixth century, was marked by translation of a large body of Indian texts and "an increasingly scholastic turn as Chinese monks slowly mastered the doctrinal intricacies of their Indian heritage."[151] The third and the final stage, extending from the reunification of China by the Sui dynasty in 589 to the end of the Tang period in the early tenth century, was characterized by the emergence of fully sinified schools of Buddhism that included Tiantai, Huayan, Chan, and Pure Land.[152]

The above Chinese Buddhist schools, although rooting themselves in various canonical texts, had no antecedents in India. The members of these schools, concerned with the validity, complexity, and sometimes contradictory nature of doctrines contained in the translated texts, attempted to synthesize Indic teachings according

to the needs of the Chinese society. Zhiyi and his Tiantai school, for example, systematized the distinct teachings of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna texts and purported that all existing Buddhist texts, irrespective of their doctrinal orientation, expounded the true teachings of the Buddha. The Tiantai school also propagated the view that every sentient being and even the smallest particle possessed the Buddha-nature, i.e., the ability to become a Buddha. The Pure Land school, on the other hand, emphasized the Paradise of Amitābha Buddha, a land of joy and happiness inhabited only by gods and worthy humans. Kenneth Ch'en has aptly observed that these schools "were the products of the Chinese response to Buddhism, and indicated how the Chinese mind took over certain basic principles and reshaped them to suit the Chinese temperament, so that the schools were no longer Indian systems introduced into China, but were really schools of Chinese Buddhism."[153]

The impact of these sinified schools on the Chinese clergy and the lay society was immense, especially considering the fact that very few members of the Chinese Buddhist community possessed the ability to consult original Indic texts or made pilgrimage to India in search of orthodox teachings. The Buddhist "dialogue" in China, as Robert Sharf has rightly observed, rarely took place between Indians and Chinese, "but among the Chinese themselves."[154] Although the translated texts introduced the basic doctrines into China, the dissemination of Buddhist teachings and practices was largely accomplished through the Chinese commentaries on the canonical texts and the apocryphal works derived from them. Even the early Buddhist translators seem to be cognizant of this fact. In his study of translations made by the third-century Yuzhi monk Dharmarakṣa, Daniel Boucher points out that the early translators of Buddhist texts produced their translations "for an audience with expectations—an audience that to some extent thought they knew what the Buddha would have said if he were Chinese. Their success as translators, then, was determined by the degree to which they met those expectations."[155]

In the same way, the indigenous texts were composed to serve the Buddhist adherents living in China. The important function of these texts is fittingly explained by Robert Buswell. He notes,

> Apocryphal texts often satisfied East Asian religious presumptions and needs in ways that translated Indian scriptures, which targeted Indian or Central Asian audiences, simply could not.

> Like the indigenous learned schools of Buddhism, indigenous sūtras also sought to fashion new, uniquely East Asian forms of Buddhism, without precise analogues within the Indian tradition. In such scriptures, motifs and concepts drawn from translated texts were combined with beliefs and practices deriving from the native culture.[156]

Indeed, these indigenous texts were instrumental, for example, in the propagation of practices and rituals associated with death and afterlife. It was pointed out in the introduction to this book that Buddhist ideas on afterlife seem to have drawn the initial attention of the Chinese society. During the ensuing period, the synthesis of Buddhist teachings and indigenous mortuary beliefs instigated the formation of new rites and concepts regarding postmortem life. The notions of Amitābha's Paradise, purgatory, and the so-called ghost festival are a few examples. The fact that commentaries and indigenous texts played a crucial role in these developments is discernable from the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang. One such text, called the [*Foshuo*] *Yanluo wang shouji sizhong yuxiu shengqi wangsheng jingtu jing* (The Scripture Spoken by the Buddha to the Four Orders on the Prophecy Given to King Yama concerning the Sevens of Life to Be Cultivated in Preparation for Rebirth in the Pure Land, P. 2003), for example, not only contains teachings from the Pure Land and Huayan schools regarding the means to escape purgatorial suffering and the way to achieve rebirth in Amitābha's Paradise, but also includes Confucian views that are presented within the orthodox Buddhist framework of fate and retribution.[157]

Works by the members of the Chinese Buddhist schools seem to have also sustained the popularity of the practice of making offerings to dead ancestors during the annual ghost festival in medieval China. Probably ensuing from the syncretism of Buddhist teachings and Chinese beliefs in filial piety and ancestor worship, this festival reached its peak during the Tang times.[158] The Japanese monk Ennin found that it was the "most flourishing festival" in ninth-century China.[159] Monks from all major Chinese Buddhist schools of the Tang dynasty are known to have written commentaries on the fifth-century canonical text *Yulan pen jing* (*Ullambana Sūtra*, T.685) to stress the importance of the ghost festival. In the most widely used commentary on the text by the ninth-century Chinese monk Zongmi, for

example, the efficacy of the filial rituals incorporated in the festival is strongly advocated. Recognized as a patriarch of both the Huayan and Chan schools, Zongmi specifically underlined the significance of the festival to the Chinese cultural and social setting. Indeed, the commentaries produced during the Tang period make it evident that the major concern of monks belonging to the Chinese Buddhist schools of the Tang dynasty was not to validate the Indic origins of Buddhist practices or texts. Rather, they attempted to present Buddhist doctrines in the Chinese context.

It must be pointed out, however, that the Tang rulers' patronage of leading translators, especially Xuanzang, Yijing, and Amoghavajra, ensured to some degree the continued importance of Indic texts and doctrines among the Chinese Buddhist community until about the ninth century. At the same time, state patronage, or rather the lack thereof, was also responsible for hampering the development of some of the newly established sinified Buddhist schools. The Tiantai school, for example, seems to have declined in the seventh century due to lack of support from the Tang court.[160] And although other sinified Buddhist schools, including Chan, developed rapidly during the Tang dynasty, they assumed a definitive form only during the late Tang and Song periods.[161] Also during the Song period, the Chan monastic rules eventually replaced Indian Vinaya codes that were transmitted, translated, and adopted by the Chinese Buddhist community during the Northern and Southern Dynasties.[162] In fact, a prudent attempt to completely disassociate Chinese Buddhism from its Indian origins was made and supported by some of most influential Chinese clergy at the Song court.

Especially notable is the state-monk Zanning's criticism of the Indian culture. Highlighting the fact that the Indians had no clear date for the birth of the Buddha, Zanning claimed that the Indian culture was too unsophisticated and simple to observe and record events in detail. The Indians were, he argued, "satisfied with generalizations."[163] Zanning also strongly reiterated the claims of Chinese clergy regarding the popularity of Buddhism during the Zhou period and the circulation of Buddhist texts as early the former Han period —centuries before Buddhism was actually introduced into and accepted by the Chinese society.

In fact, in one of his most famous works, the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, Zanning strongly argues for the reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines, from China to India, started from the time of Emperor Wu

of the Liang dynasty. In this work, as pointed out in the previous chapter, a discussion regarding the reverse transmission of Tiantai doctrines is reported to have ensued between Hanguang and another Tang monk, Zhanran, at Mount Wutai. To prove his own view that the transmission of religious doctrines from China to India was indeed feasible, Zanning provides three instances from the past dynasties. According to Zanning, during the Liang dynasty an envoy from the Central Asian kingdom of Drug-gu (Ch. Tuguhun) had received a gift of one hundred and three scrolls of commentaries on Buddhist texts written by Emperor Wu. Zanning contends that these commentaries were then translated into a foreign language (Ch. *hu*, probably indicating Sogdian) and transmitted through the Pamir mountains into the Five Indias.

Next, Zanning speculates that Confucian texts circulating in Kucha may have been also translated and proselytized in foreign lands. And finally, during the Tang dynasty, he notes that there was an attempt to translate Daoist texts into Sanskrit. The Buddhists and Daoists involved in the translation project failed to render these texts into Sanskrit, he explains, because they were unable to settle a dispute over using the word "Bodhi" (enlightenment, wisdom, and sometimes the [Buddhist] Way) to interpret the Daoist term "Dao" (the Way).[164] This latter example no doubt pertains to the request for Daoist teachings that was purportedly made by the king of Kāmarūpa to the Tang envoy Li Yibiao in the mid-seventh century (see Chapter 1).

After narrating these stories, Zanning offers a deeper introspection of the Buddhist ties between India and China. "The Western Region (i.e., India)," he writes, "is [indeed] the root and trunk of Buddhist doctrines. [The teachings] transmitted to China are [its] branches and leaves." The Chinese adherents, Zanning argues, have only seen the branches and leaves and have no knowledge of the root and trunk. The Chinese adherents thus fail to realize that when planted in soil, branches, and leaves take new root and grow fresh trunk. The branches and leaves that sprout from this new trunk can become so marvelous, Zanning contends, that even those efficient in grafting may fail to recognize the original roots. In other words, using the metaphor of news roots, trunks, branches, and leaves, Zanning proposes that the Buddhist doctrines originally transmitted from India had already taken a Chinese root and identity. Interspersed in this metaphorical commentary are various criticisms, sim-

ilar to those mentioned above, that he levels against the Indians. He concludes by hinting that without reverse transmission, Indians would have failed to properly understand Buddhist doctrines.[165]

Zanning's statements were not only directed toward the critics of Buddhism in China, but also addressed the desire of the Chinese Buddhist community to mold the Indic doctrine according to its own cultural requirements. By separating Buddhism from its Indian roots and asserting its antiquity in China, Zanning wanted to present Buddhism as a part of Chinese culture and ensure its survival in a socio-political setting that was undergoing dramatic changes. One of such changes was the growing importance of *wen* (the literary/civil) over *wu* (the military) that had began under Emperor Taizu, the founding ruler of the Song dynasty. On one hand, the notion of *wen* was promulgated to control the powerful military warlords. On the other hand, however, it aimed at reviving classical Chinese values and literary styles. The Song Emperor Taizong, Zanning's leading patron, was one of the most avid proponents of *wen*. Zanning's criticisms of Indian culture and the links it had with Buddhism were, as Albert Welter has suggested, part of an effort to not only address the intellectual and political changes shaping the Song society but also in responce to the emperor's personal preference.[166] Thus, while the emphasis on literary learning by the early Song rulers stimulated the Buddhist compilation and printing projects, the same cultural trend seems to be also responsible for the eventual failure of the newly translated texts.

Zanning's sentiments about Indian culture and his arguments for the antiquity and eminent status of Chinese Buddhism vis-á-vis Indian Buddhism were, it seems, shared by some of his lesser-known contemporaries. In an indigenous Buddhist text produced some time before the eleventh century, the famous Tang-dynasty monk Sengqie (617–710) is described as the Śākyamuni Buddha, who attained nirvāṇa in China, and will, at a future time, return there along with Maitreya to regenerate the potency of Buddhist doctrines. This text, entitled *Sengqie heshang yu ru niepan shuo liudu jing* (The Sūtra on the Six Perfections as Spoken by the Monk Sengqie before Entering Nirvāṇa, T. 2920), enumerates a number of issues that were discussed in this and the previous chapters. It exemplifies the attempts made by the Chinese clergy to find a place and identity for themselves in the Buddhist realm. The Buddha, for example, is presented as the manifestation of a Chinese native; China is depicted as a sacred

region within the continent of Jambudvīpa; and the future Buddha is prophesized to descent and create a paradise on the Chinese land. It also embraces the view of a reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines from China to India.

Zanning's portrayal of Chinese Buddhism and the tales of reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines may have inspired the Chinese clergy to formulate their own teachings. Indeed, these indigenous Buddhist ideas and teachings not only addressed the spiritual needs of the Chinese Buddhist community, but also appeased the lay gentry. The accomplishments of Chinese Buddhist schools during the Song dynasty is apparent, for example, in the popularity of the Chan flame histories (*dengshi*), a Chinese Buddhist genre propagating the Chan lineage, and in the growing number of Chan monasteries, both public and private, that attracted a large following from different levels of Chinese society.[167] Similarly, the revived Tiantai school, as Chi-chiang Huang has illustrated in the case of the city of Hangzhou during the Northern Song period, also gained adherents among the Chinese elite and clergy.[168]

The ingenuity of the Chinese clergy during the Song period is also demonstrated by the successful transformation of Avalokiteśvara, an important male bodhisattva in the Indian Buddhist pantheon, into a compassionate and powerful female deity called Guanyin. For Chün Fang-yü, the feminization of Avalokiteśvara exemplifies the process of "domestication" of Buddhism in China in which local cults, indigenous texts, and the cultural and intellectual changes of the Song period played crucial roles. Not only did Avalokiteśvara acquire a new gender in China, he was given a new home on Mount Putuo (in present-day Zhejiang province), and turned into one of the most popular figures of Chinese Buddhism.[169]

Because of the popularity of indigenous Buddhist teachings and schools, and the desire of prominent members of Chinese clergy to disassociate Chinese Buddhism from its Indian roots, the translated Buddhist texts served no real purpose in the transmission of new doctrines from India. Commentaries were no longer written for the newly translated texts, and, as Jan Yün-hua points out, the discourses and discussions that marked Buddhist translation projects until the Tang dynasty ceased during the Song period. Nor were the Indian texts or monks required to legitimize the sinicized rituals and practices that had already become popular in the Chinese society. The

contemporary Chinese clergy seems to have realized that the welfare of the Buddhist community lay not in the scholastic study and propagation of Indic teaching, but in advancing the case for sinified doctrines that had emerged from the syncretism of Indian and native beliefs over the course of eight or nine centuries.

This separation may not have been apparent to the Chinese Buddhists in most cases. At least subliminally, however, the emergence of China as a sacred Buddhist realm with the presence of uniquely Chinese Buddhist divinities, in addition to the growth of indigenous texts, may have contributed to the severing of the spiritual bond that linked India and China. The postulated views on the decay and corruption of Buddhist doctrines in India would have further deterred the Chinese clergy from seriously engaging in the exposition of new Indic texts. Thus, despite the sustained Buddhist interactions between India and China in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Indic ideas, unlike in the past, provided little inspiration for the Song Buddhist community. Indeed, the success of indigenous schools and texts during the Song period had not only eliminated the Chinese interest in procuring Buddhist doctrines from India, but in the process it had also terminated one of the main avenues through which Indian cultural elements had previously permeated into the Chinese society. Furthermore, the increasing flow of Indian pilgrims to the Buddhist sites in Song China, and the reliance by neighboring states on China for Buddhist doctrines and ritual objects, virtually eliminated the borderland complex tormenting the Chinese clergy. As a result, the Chinese perception of India as a Holy Land and the source of Buddhist teachings seems to have diminished to such an extent that a reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines from China to India was deemed essential to sustain the monastic community in India and instigate the revival of Indian Buddhism.

In sum, by the end of the tenth century, Buddhism in India and China had taken two very divergent paths. While Indian Buddhism developed its own philosophical and ritualistic (esoteric) traditions, the Chinese clergy formulated and propagated their own indigenous teachings. This divergence not only severed the Buddhist nexus between India and China it also ended the millenium-long epoch of a vigorous Sino-Indian intercourse that was stimulated by the transmission of Buddhist doctrines and pilgrimage activity.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Reconfiguration of Sino-Indian Trade and Its Underlying Causes

> The profit of maritime trade contributes much to the national income. Therefore, pursuing the former custom, the people of far-away countries should be encouraged to come and sell an abundant supply of foreign goods.
>
> —Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1162)

One of the aims of this chapter and the next is to apprehend the consequences of the diminished role of Buddhism outlined in the previous chapter in the wider context of Sino-Indian interaction, especially its effect on commercial exchanges between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. Xinru Liu has convincingly demonstrated that bilateral trade was one of the key segments of Sino-Indian relations intimately linked to the fate of Buddhist interactions. Liu has argued that during most part of the first millennium, Buddhist doctrines, by creating a demand for Buddhist-related items in China, played a crucial role in sustaining the commercial exchanges between India and China.[1] Indeed, even during the tenth and eleventh centuries, Buddhist artifacts seem to have been essential components of Sino-Indian trade. However, the fading role of Buddhist doctrines in the cross-cultural interchanges between India and Song China was accompanied by a significant reconfiguration in the pattern of commercial exchanges between the two countries, these included: (1) the infiltration of non-Buddhist traders in Sino-Indian commerce; (2) shifts in trade routes, with an enlarged role for the Islamized maritime trade; and (3) the growing prevalence of nonreligious luxury and bulk products.

These changes in commercial relations did not directly ensue from alterations in how Buddhist doctrines were received by the Song clergy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but, as is argued here, took on a trajectory of their own. In other words, the tenth and eleventh centuries proved to be a watershed, in terms of both Buddhist doctrinal exchanges and the commercial contacts between the two countries. A second goal of these last two chapters, thus, is to examine the causes and implications of this reconfiguration of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges. I begin this chapter with a discussion on the fundamental changes in the economic structures and policies in both India and China between the seventh and tenth centuries and explain their significance to the reconfiguration of Sino-Indian commerce.

Urbanization and Changes in Economic Policies

Long-distance trade, its definitions, patterns, organization, and significance in premodern societies, has been discussed in great depth and from varying perspectives. Karl Polanyi, for example, has defined long-distance trade from "institutional" and "market" perspectives.[2] In formulating the institutional definition, Polanyi writes, "trade is a method of acquiring goods that are not available on the spot. It is something external to the group, similar to activities which we are used to associating with quite different spheres of life, namely, hunts, expeditions, and piratic raids. The point of all these activities, including trade, is acquisition and carrying of goods from a distance. What distinguishes trade from the rest is a two-sidedness which also ensures its peaceful nature, absent in quests for booty and plunder."[3] According to his market definition, on the other hand, "trade is the movement of goods on their way through the market, that is, an institution embodying a supply-demand-price mechanism. One commodity is moving in the one direction, the other in the opposite direction. The movement is controlled by prices. Trade and market are coterminous. All commodities—goods produced for sale—are potential objects of trade. The movement of trade is the function of prices, which, again, are the function of the market. Consequently, all trade is market trade."[4]

Polanyi has also proposed that material transaction in premodern societies was patterned by the modes of reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange. By reciprocity, Polanyi meant the exchange of goods,

especially in the form of gifts, among symmetrically placed groups. Redistribution, according to him, relates to the movement of commodities and services through a central, kinship-based, organization. On the other hand, Polyani conceives of the "exchange" of goods as having taken place only under a self-regulating system of price-making market. Accordingly, Polyani termed these three patterns of exchange as gift-giving, administered trade, and market-trade.[5]

The economic, political, and cultural impact of long-distance trade, and the social uses and functions of commodities traded, have also been extensively examined. In his study of the Trobriand Islanders in the Western Pacific, anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, for example, has argued that political, religious, social, and kinship considerations could have a more significant role in the exchange of goods than material goals. Such exchanges, he suggests, need not necessarily involve monetary transactions but could also take the form of gift-giving or barter.[6]

Anthropologists have also argued that the demand, desire, control, and value of goods may lead to commodities taking on a "life" of their own. For example, in his examination of the circulation of sacred relics in medieval Europe, Patrick Geary describes the "life-cycle" of human remains in the following way:

> [A] human bone, given by the Pope as a sacred relic, thereby became a sacred relic if the receiver were also willing to consider it as such. Likewise, a corpse once stolen (or said to have been stolen) was valuable because it had been worth stealing. Solemn recognition, by means of ritual authentication normally involving the miraculous intervention of the saint himself, provided assurance that the value assigned by the transfer was genuine. This value endured so long as the community responded by recognizing miraculous cures and wonders and ascribing them to the intervention of the saint. In general, however, enthusiasm tended to wane over time, and the value of the relic had to be renewed periodically through a repetition of transferal or discovery, which would then begin the cycle anew. So long as the relic continued to perform as a miracle worker, it maintained its value as a potential commodity and could be used to acquire status, force acknowledgment of dependency, and secure wealth through its whole or partial distribution."[7]

The use, circulation, and authentication of the relics of the Buddha in China was indeed similar to Geary's description of Christian relics as commodities.[8] His statement about the commercial value of sacred relics also concurs with the export and re-export of the remains of the Buddha during the Song period noted in this chapter and the next.

Xinru Liu has shown that premodern trade between India and China was no exception to the models propounded by Polanyi, Malinowski, and Geary.[9] Liu has also argued that the transmission of Buddhism to and its subsequent expansion in China were central to gift-giving, administered trade, and market exchanges between India and China during the first half of the first millennium. Buddhist ideas, such as that of *sāptaratna*,[10] Liu notes, "created and sustained the demand for certain commodities traded between India and China during the first to the fifth centuries A.D."[11] Liu suggests that Polanyi's notions of reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange "overlapped" and "co-existed in a complex economic network" of Sino-Indian trade.[12] She concludes that the success of this complex economic network of Sino-Indian trade lay in the interdependence between long-distance trade, urbanization, Buddhist theology, and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines to China.

This penetrating conclusion drawn by Xinru Liu is employed in this and the next chapter as the premise for examining changes in the patterns of Sino-Indian commerce after the seventh century. Of foremost concern is the issue of urbanization, primarily because urban growth, by facilitating the production and transportation of commodities, potentially stimulated long-distance trade. It is also necessary to address the issue of urbanization because it has been speculated that a decline of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges in the seventh century was one of the main factors responsible for triggering urban decay in India.

Urban Decay in Northern India and Sino-Indian Trade

While economic factors are often credited for the formation of urban centers, it is also recognized that networks of cities, in turn, sustain and promote economic growth and long-distance commerce. By providing a mechanism for the transaction and redistribution of goods, urban centers facilitate the availability of capital and supplies and, at the same time, fulfill the spiritual, cultural, and social needs

of merchant communities and itinerant traders. It is through the inter- and intra-regional links established among urban centers that merchants and missionaries, in the form of relay, are known to have transmitted commodities and religious doctrines from one cultural zone to another.[13] In fact, as Liu has revealed, premodern Sino-Indian trade and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China were undertaken in similar ways and during a period marked by urban growth and expanding trade.

Lasting from the sixth century B.C.E. through to the third century C.E., first the Gangetic basin and then the rest of northern India witnessed one of the longest periods of urban growth in premodern Indian history. This so-called "second phase" of Indian urbanization, after the "first phase" in the Indus Valley region ended around the mid-second millennium B.C.E., was marked by the expansion of agriculture, the emergence of a stratified and complex economic system, the formation of a centralized power structure, the use of metallic currency, and the development of highly integrated trading networks. Buddhist doctrines originated around the Gangetic basin in the beginning of this phase of urbanization and subsequently spread to the rest of India through, and supported by, the trading networks that linked major cities.[14] It was in the middle of this long phase of urbanization and economic growth that Buddhist doctrines, carried by long-distance traders, spread to other parts of Asia, including the urban and commercial centers of Han China.

Xinru Liu has argued that the demand for Buddhist-related items in China was one of the key reasons for the expansion of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges. Liu points out that even after the third century, when towns in the Gangetic basin started showing signs of decay, Sino-Indian trade was sustained by the export of Buddhist-related commodities from India to China.[15] As Chapters 1 and 2 of the present study indicate, Chinese demand for Buddhist items also played a significant role in Sino-Indian exchanges during the seventh and eighth centuries.

Some scholars have argued, however, that the transfer of Indian sugar-making technology to China in the mid-seventh century severely retrenched the volume of Indian exports to China. This resulted, in turn, in a drop in the transfer of Chinese gold to India.[16] According to the noted Indian historian R. S. Sharma, the decline of Sino-Indian trade and the paucity of Chinese gold adversely affected urban growth in India. "The fitful appearance of Chinese

coins," Sharma writes in his seminal work *Indian Feudalism*, "all copper, in early medieval south India, does not indicate much trade. Overall, after the third century and particularly after the mid-sixth century long-distance trade lost its vigor as a result of which towns suffered."[17] Sharma points out that India's long-distance trade with Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and the Byzantine empire witnessed a similar decline after the sixth century.[18] The diminished inflow of precious metals from foreign countries, according to Sharma, caused a scarcity of metallic currency in India, the consequence of which was the increased use of land grants as an alternative method of payment. These land grants subsequently instigated the growth of independent and self-sufficient economic units that, in time, severed their ties to political centers. Decreased mobility between regions, which was one of the main outcomes of the rise of self-sufficient units, led to a decline in internal trade and the weakening of central authority. What emerged, Sharma proposes, was a feudal India with a closed economy and "a strong sense of localism."[19] This "Indian feudalism," according to Sharma, began in the fourth century and started declining around the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[20]

Sharma's views on urban decay and its causes, although influential, have drawn fire from a number of critics.[21] Harbans Mukhia, for example, not only questions Sharma's use of European ideas of a feudal state to describe the changes in the Indian society, but also rejects his notion of an Indian feudalism.[22] Focusing on the part played by the peasantry, Mukhia argues that while feudalism in Europe arose from tensions at the base of the society, in India it was the state that was primarily responsible for devising the system of land grants. Although the Indian peasantry was exploited by the ruling class and subsisted at a much lower level than their European counterparts, they were, Mukhia points out, economically more independent due to the highly fertile nature of agricultural land in India. Thus, the key characteristics of Indian agrarian history were fertile land, a low level of subsistence, and free peasant production. These characteristics, according to Mukhia, fostered "the relative stability in India's social and economic history." Mukhia concludes by noting that whereas in Europe there was an acute scarcity of labor and frequent shortages of food, in India "there appears to have been no prolonged and acute scarcity either of labour or production; the routine increase in demand could perhaps have been met by the routine extension of agriculture."[23] And he points out that,

> [T]he peasant's independent control over his process of production eliminated the possibility of acute social tensions which may have necessitated significant changes in the entire system of production. The conflicts that characterized the economic history of pre-British India were conflicts over the distribution and redistribution of the surplus rather than over the redistribution of the means of production, which had changed the face of medieval European economy. The conflicts over the redistribution of the surplus were resolved by and large within the existing social framework. . . . Medieval Indian society did not have enough tension in it to lead it to the bourgeois system of production.[24]

B. D. Chattopadhyaya, on the other hand, takes issue with Sharma's linkage of urban decay to external trade.[25] Based on a detailed examination of documents and inscriptions from three regions of northern India (the Indo-Gangetic divide, the upper Gangetic basin, and the Malwa plateau), Chattopadhyaya contends that while India's participation in international trade may have declined in the post-Gupta period, local trade and the urban growth had continued in most parts of India. The only exception to this trend, he notes, was the Gangetic basin, where cities, such as Kuśinagara and Vaiśalī, decayed and trade routes contracted during the seventh and eighth centuries. However, the decline of cities and contraction of trade routes in the Gangetic basin, Chattopadhyaya proposes, resulted not from the diminishing external trade, but from internal agricultural expansion and political stratification. In fact, one of Chattopadhyaya's main contentions is that "if foreign trade did not play a crucial role in the birth of early urban centers, a reduced volume of such trade may hardly be held responsible for their decay in the post-Kuṣāṇa or post-Gupta period."[26] More importantly, Chattopadhyaya suggests that post-1000 Indian urban history witnessed the "crystallization of new networks of exchange, formation of trade guilds, and a new phase of money production and circulation," leading to, what he terms as, the "third phase of urbanization" in India.[27]

As to Sharma's argument about the paucity of metallic coins, John Deyell demonstrates the circulation of significant quantities of coins in western, northern, and northwestern parts of India between 750 and 1000. Deyell also points out that although there were some qualitative changes in the metallic contents of coins used in these

regions during the 1000–1200 period, there was no lack of currency for commercial transactions. "[T]he hypothesis of a decline of trade," Deyell concludes, "is in conflict with the pattern of coin movements along the coastal axes centering on Gujarat, or the overland axis centering on Afghanistan and terminating in Delhi. These are *a priori* evidence of long-term disequilibrium in the balance of payments in inter-regional trade. This presupposes an exchange of goods along the same axis, which constitutes trade."[28]

Our concern here is not to offer a detailed analysis of the pros and cons of the contending arguments on Indian feudalism.[29] Rather, it is limited to two interrelated relevant questions that emerge from Sharma's contention over the ramifications of the changes in Sino-Indian trade on Indian feudalism. First, did Sino-Indian trade actually decline after the sugar-making technology was transferred to China in the mid-seventh century? Second, was there any connection between the decline of Sino-Indian trade and the decay of towns in India?

R. S. Sharma's argument that the transfer of sugar-making technology in the seventh century resulted in a rapid decline of Sino-Indian trade is based on two highly questionable premises. First, Sharma takes it for granted that commercial exchange between India and China was sustained through the export of Indian sugar to China. Second, he seems to assume that the transferred technology was able to meet the presumably large Chinese demand for the commodity within a few decades, or even years. There is little indication from the Chinese side, however, that Indian sugar was imported in large quantities before the technology reached China. In fact, there is no documentary evidence of the widespread use of sugar or its byproducts among the Chinese public or the Buddhist clergy before or during the Tang dynasty.[30] Nor is their any indication that the product was imported in bulk quantities from India. Rather, Indian cane-sugar, that the Chinese called *shimi* (Skt. *guḍa/śarkarā*) or *banmi* (*phāṇita?*), is noted in Chinese sources only in the context of medical prescriptions and in the list of tribute received from India or other foreign kingdoms, and imported only as a luxury item.[31]

Indeed, the seventh–eighth century Turfan documents from Central Asia suggest that sugar was one of the less actively traded commodities in the region.[32] It was only during the Song period that sugar, as a sweetener, started appearing in Chinese markets located in urban regions.[33] And it was not until the Ming and Qing dynasties

that the product became a staple of the Chinese population.[34] In other words, the plan to import the sugar-making technology during the Tang period may not have originated from a demand-supply gap. Rather, it was probably imported, in small quantities and largely through tribute missions, to meet the ritual needs of a few influential Chinese clergy wanting to abide by strict monastic rules.

Indian sources, similarly, fail to reveal that the commodity was one of the major export items during the sixth and seventh centuries. Surely, if the Chinese had been importing sugar in large quantities, so much so that northern Indian economy depended on its export, then the dealers of and the profit from trade in sugar would have been prominently noted in Indian sources. Indeed, Anjali Malik, referring to the sale of sugar in northern India during the period between 600–1000, writes, "It appears that whatever sugar was produced was consumed locally and not traded, because we do not have a single reference to its sale throughout our period."[35]

The transfer of sugar-making technology, thus, seems to have had minimal impact on Sino-Indian commercial exchanges during the seventh and eighth centuries and on the Indian economy. On the contrary, it is likely that the emergence of Mount Wutai as a pilgrimage center for Indian monks, the use of Buddhist paraphernalia by Empress Wu, and the popularity of esoteric Buddhism in China as discussed in Chapter 2, may have stimulated and expanded Sino-Indian commercial exchanges for at least a century following the transfer of sugar-making technology. In addition, as will be demonstrated later, commercial channels between India and China, especially the one through the Chilas-Gilgit region in northern India, seem to have been operational until the late eighth century.

It is only in the early ninth century that the absence of Indian tributary missions in Chinese records suggests a decline in the trading relations between India and China. The numbers of such tributary missions and the exchanges between the Buddhist communities of the two countries, as was noted in the previous chapter, resumed its intensity in the mid-tenth century. The reason for this century-long disruption in the Sino-Indian commercial intercourse may have resulted from the social and political disorder along the main overland routes connecting the two countries. While in Central Asia the disturbance was caused by the collapse of the Uighur empire in 840, the route linking eastern India and southwestern China was blocked

by the frequent wars between the Pyu kingdom in Myanmar and the Nanzhao kingdom in southeastern China.[36] In short, the transfer of sugar-making technology appears to have played no role in either the decline of Sino-Indian commerce or urban changes in India.[37]

As detailed in the next chapter, the reconfiguration of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges occurred through three distinct phases during the period from the seventh through to the thirteenth centuries. First, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the Chinese demand for Buddhist artifacts and ritual items continued to sustain the trade between India and China. Second, the period from the ninth to the mid-tenth centuries witnessed a decline in overland commercial activity, occasioned by the unstable political situation in Central Asia and Myanmar. Third, in the late tenth century tributary missions and commercial exchanges between India and China resumed and grew in intensity, along both overland and maritime routes. In terms of the debate over (de)urbanization in India, these changes in Sino-Indian trade seem to imply that (1) the commercial exchanges between the two countries did not decline until about the mid-ninth century; (2) the disorder in Central Asia and Myanmar seems to have had a more significant impact on Sino-Indian trade than the transfer of sugar-making technology; and (3) the revival of Sino-Indian trade in the post-tenth-century accords with Chattopadhyaya's assertion of "third phase of urbanization" in northern India.

Economic Changes in China and Southern India

In the post-tenth-century phase, Sino-Indian commercial exchanges benefited immensely not only from the revival of urban growth in northern India, but were also boosted by the remodeling of economic policies and marketing structures in China and southern India. Although the early and mid-Tang periods had witnessed unprecedented growth in China's trade with foreign countries,[38] internal commerce was highly regulated and controlled through a state-administered market system.[39] Strict control over location and duration for commercial transactions, supervision of prices and nature of commodities traded, and the surveillance over the movement of traders were instituted by the Tang court. Taxes, that were collected in kind, such as grain and cloth, left little, if any, real surpluses for private trade. In addition, the use of corvée labor by the government to transport staple commodities made it difficult for merchants to compete with state prices for most bulk products.[40]

Many of the stringent regulations on trade and merchants in China seem to have originated from Confucian antipathy toward mercantile activities. Not only was the profession of unproductive profit-making condemned, the merchant class was relegated to the lowest status in the Chinese society and perceived as a potential threat to the orderly functioning of the government. Moreover, bureaucratic positions and opportunities through the civil service exams were denied to the sons and grandsons of merchants.[41]

Because of the restrictions imposed on merchants and mercantile activities, the state revenue from commerce, both internal and external, during the first half of the Tang period was negligible. The aim of the government was to allow commercial exchanges under strict surveillance rather than make profit from trade the cornerstone of Chinese economy. To use revenue from mercantile activities for fiscal needs would renege on the Confucian principles of opposing trade and commerce.[42] The An Lushan rebellion of 755, and the destabilizing effect it had on the Tang political and social structure, eventuated in the breakdown of this extremely rigid economic system.[43] In order to reverse diminishing fiscal resources in the aftermath of the rebellion, the later Tang rulers had little option but to raise funds from both internal and external commerce.

One of the most important fiscal changes to take place in the post-An Lushan period was the institution of monetary taxation under the new decentralized *Liangshui fa* (Twice-yearly tax) system.[44] The increased use of money in the late Tang economy, although creating some new problems such as a severe shortage of copper coins, encouraged the growth and diversification of private commerce, induced changes in the social status of the merchant community, and overhauled the market and credit structure in China. "By the ninth century trade was no longer entirely concentrated in the official market places," writes Denis Twitchett, "but small quarters of specialist dealers had sprung up elsewhere, and irregular night markets began to be held. By the middle of the ninth century the old system of strictly regulated official markets was decaying in the capital and on its way to being abandoned in the provinces."[45]

In addition to these changes in trade policies, the late Tang and the subsequent Five Dynasties periods witnessed a number of other significant economic developments. New varieties of crops were introduced into China from Southeast Asia, improved irrigation machinery and techniques spread throughout China, and the Chinese

population started migrating toward the fertile southern region of the country. As a consequence of these developments, the Chinese population grew almost fourfold from 32 million in 961 to about 121 million in 1109,[46] and cities expanded in numbers and density. In 1100, for example, Kaifeng, the capital of Northern Song, had about 180,000 registered households and a total population of 1.4 million.[47] Urban growth prompted further changes in the legal structure of markets and the patterns of mercantile activities throughout China.[48] Restrictions limiting the markets to designated areas, which were regularly enforced during the Tang period, were lifted. Consequently, trading activities could be conducted anywhere within cities or their suburbs.[49] This dismantling of the rigid marketing system contributed to the emergence of active private entrepreneurs, stimulated commercial exchanges within China, and eventually led to the incorporation of international trade into Chinese economy.

The effort to raise revenue from commercial activities intensified during the Song period because of successive Chinese defeats in wars with its northern neighbors, the Khitans, Tanguts, and the Jurchens. The peace treaties signed by the Song government with the northern victors required the payment of a large amount of silver, silk, and tea as annual tribute. According to the Shanyuan treaty signed with the Khitans in 1004, the Song government paid an annual tribute of 100,000 taels of silver and 200,000 bolts of silk. This was later raised to 200,000 and 300,000, respectively. In 1044, the Song court agreed to send the Tanguts an annual tribute of 50,000 taels of silver, 130,000 bolts of silk, and 10,000 catties of tea in exchange for peace. And by a treaty of 1141 with the Jurchens, who had by then displaced the Song empire to southern China, the Chinese court had to pay an annual tribute of 250,000 taels of silver and 250,000 bolts of silk.[50] In order to raise sufficient funds to meet the requirements of the peace treaties, the Song court turned to the already flourishing internal and external commerce. Not only did the government enact new laws governing commercial activities and establish custom offices to enforce them, it also facilitated trade by supplying cash and developing a credit system for itinerant merchants.

As a result of these measures, the government revenue from commerce increased from 4 million strings of cash in 995–998 (18 percent of the total revenue in cash) to 22 million strings of cash in 1049 (56.4 percent of the total revenue in cash).[51] And the duty collected from the lucrative maritime trade, a hitherto overlooked

source of income, through the special custom houses known as *Shibo si* (Bureau of Maritime Commerce), increased from about 540,173 strings of cash in 1086 to an annual average of 1 million strings between the years 1102 and 1110.[52] In addition, by re-exporting commodities obtained from the maritime trade to the northern kingdoms, the Song court was able to establish huge trade surpluses that offset the burden of tribute it paid under the peace treaties.[53]

The Song court also revamped the traditional tributary system in order to meet its fiscal needs. Although designed to symbolize the superiority of Chinese culture and civilization among its neighbors, a majority of tribute missions were, in fact, engaged in conducting trade with the Chinese. Since the Han dynasty, the Chinese courts had enacted laws to curb the commercial activities of tribute carriers, but, it seems, with little success. In a dramatic turnaround, the Song court actively lobbied foreign merchants to bring tribute to China by giving them special incentives. Muslim merchants, whose trading diasporas had spread into the Chinese coastal cities by the eighth century, appear to have taken special advantage of this increasingly lucrative tribute system. Between 966 and 1116, for example, at least fifty-six tributary missions led by Muslim traders to the Song court were recorded.[54] While a majority of these envoys are noted to have come to China from Arab countries, some also represented South and Southeast Asian kingdoms. The court's attempt to liberalize the tribute system is evident in its response to a memorial presented by the Finance Commission (*Sansi*) in the sixth lunar month of the first year of the Tianxi reign era (June-July 1017):

> Masili and other foreign guests from the Arab kingdom have returned to trade various kinds of goods. [They have] requested an exemption from the related commercial taxes [levied] along the road [to Kaifeng]. Now, we have determined that Masili and others plan to trade in pearls and other [commodities] that they have purchased. [In the past], on their way to the court to present [tribute] and sell [goods], they have passed together through the Mingzhou Bureau of Maritime Commerce after paying [relevant] duties. Now, however, [they] are using the pretext of tribute to go directly to the capital. [Thus,] the commercial taxes [levied] along the road should not be exempted. [*It was*] *decreed,* [*however, that they be*] *specially granted an exemption from half the tax.*[55]

The Song court seems to have realized that by providing incentives to tributary missions, such as the occasional tax-break noted in the above decree, it could benefit in at least two ways. First, the government was able to obtain foreign commodities without payment. Second, it could derive substantial revenue by levying taxes on items sold in Chinese markets by the tribute carriers. In fact, the revenue collected from taxing foreign tribute and by selling some of the products acquired through the tribute system amounted to about 9.29 percent of the total Privy Purse income.[56] No wonder that an edict from Emperor Gaozong dated 1146, as noted in the epigraph in the beginning of this chapter, encouraged his officials to invite foreign traders to the Song ports.[57]

The revamped tribute system was also profitable to foreign merchants in many ways. Not only did they get preferential tax rates for appearing as tribute carriers, sometimes the gifts and honorific titles they received from the Song court in return also made commercial dealings with the Chinese government more lucrative than simple market trade. In 1028, for example, the Song court decreed to give 4,000 strings of cash in return for tribute valued at 3,600 strings of cash from a Vietnamese embassy.[58] And in 1077, a delegation representing the Chola kingdom in southern India was given 81,800 strings of cash and 52,000 teals of silver.[59] Similarly, imperial titles, such as the title of "*Jiangjun*" (General), received by the Arab merchant Pu Mawutuopoli (Abu Muhhamad Dawal?) in 1073, may have elevated the status of tribute carriers among the foreign merchant community trading with China. Such titles, at times, could have also made it easier for merchants to pass through Chinese custom houses.

The growth of foreign trade during the Song dynasty thus served both the needs of the Chinese government and the interests of overseas traders. Indeed, the expansion of markets and the encouragement of commerce in China under the Song dynasty have been recognized as major factors in the development of a vast Indian Ocean trading system in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and for ushering in a global economy in the mid-thirteenth century.[60] George Modelski and William R. Thompson, for example, write that the "Sung (Song) realm was the part of the world where demand and supply conditions strongly conducive to the emergence of a world market existed, and were capable of exercising a pull of attraction on the whole of the world economy."[61]

Some credit for the "emergence of a world market" must also go to the Chola (or Cōḷa) kingdom in southern India. The trading ports and mercantile guilds of the Chola kingdom played a significant role in linking the markets of China to rest of the world. In fact, the market structure and economic policies of the Chola kingdom were more conducive to a large-scale, cross-regional market trade than those enacted by the Song court. The following passage from the southern Indian kingdom, gives their rationale for engagement in foreign trade:

> Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attach to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city, by affording them daily audience, presents, and allowing them profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies.[62]

Indeed, the Chola court wooed merchants by providing them protection, favorable terms of trade, and sometimes even entered into marital relationship with the mercantile community. Merchant communities, in turn, supported the Chola kings in times of war and in managing newly conquered lands.

Inheriting, and building upon, many of the political and economic structures of the previous Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pallava dynasties, the Cholas emerged as one of most dominant powers in peninsular India from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. Under the leadership of Rājarāja I (r. 985–1014), Rājēndra I (r. 1012–1044), and Rājadhirāja I (r. 1018–1054), the Chola forces invaded Sri Lanka, sacked a number of neighboring kingdoms, undertook punitive attacks on states in the Bay of Bengal region, and even raided the ports of Southeast Asia. The reign of these three rulers, and indeed almost the entire four centuries of Chola administration, is marked by internal stability, flourishing Brahmanical institutions and art, increased occupational specialization, and the expansion of domestic and international trade.[63]

At the core of Chola economic organization were the commercial towns known as *nagaram*. Connecting the agrarian base to the wider network of interregional and international trade, these self-governing commercial centers not only helped intensify local and long-distance commerce, they were also instrumental in encouraging urban growth in southern India between the eleventh and thirteenth

centuries.[64] R. Champakalakshmi has demonstrated that the *nagarams* and their economic role evolved through three phases during the Chola period.[65] In the first, which corresponded to the early Chola period (850–985), the increased use of gold and silver as a medium of religious gifts and a partial moneterization of the economy meant a greater role for *nagaram* in commercial activities than had been achieved under the previous Pallava dynasty. The contacts between *nagaram* and international mercantile organizations during this initial phase, however, had remained insignificant.

During the second phase, which according to Champakalakshmi coincided with the middle period of Chola history (985–1150), an appreciable growth in the number and specialization of *nagarams* occurred. The commercial towns sprung up throughout the Chola territory and were rapidly established in the newly conquered regions. At the same time, these towns entered into strategic relationships with the larger interregional and international trading and marketing centers known as *eṟivīrappaṭṭiṉam* and *mānagraram*.[66] This phase was further distinguished by the developing ties between religious institutions, especially Brahmanical temples, and merchant communities, as well as the increasing role of merchant guilds in the expansion of the Chola territories.

Religious institutions, as powerful landowning ceremonial centers, not only contributed to agrarian expansion in southern India, but also provided significant impetus to the spread of various forms of economic and commercial activities. The term "temple urbanization" is sometimes used to denote the contribution of religious institutions to urban and economic growth during the Chola period. James Heitzman, for example, explains,

> the growth of ritual endowments in the Chola period coincided with, and must have stimulated, the growth of commercial networks at the local and regional level, with an associated growth in artisanal activity. Temple rituals demanded a wide assortment of foodstuffs and precious goods, many of which required the services of merchants for procurement and artisans or specialized workers for fabrication into elaborate offerings and cult objects. Specialists in commerce and manufacturing lived alongside the brahman ritual specialists, the cultivating groups, and the agricultural labourers who congregated in larger numbers around the lands of the religious institutions.[67]

This close association among temples, Brahman communities, and merchant guilds also extended to territories newly conquered by Chola rulers. The Chola rulers frequently turned over the conquered regions to merchant guilds and Brahman communities for developmental purposes. Merchants, in collaboration with Brahmans, were to build temples and maintain various public facilities in such areas. Not only did the transfer of land to merchant guilds and Brahmans help the Chola rulers consolidate their hold on the new territories, it also increased the state revenue collected from the commercial activity in the area. At times, the Chola court even undertook special military expeditions in order to secure interregional and international commercial routes on behalf of the Tamil merchant guilds. The conquest of southern Karnataka by Rājēndra in 1032, for example, seems to have been undertaken with the aim to control the major internal trade routes in southern India.[68] Similarly, the occupation of Sri Lanka in the 1080s was aimed at expanding the commercial network of Tamil merchants in the lucrative Indian Ocean trade.[69] The most noteworthy episode, however, was the Chola naval raids on the Southeast Asian ports in 1025 and in the 1070s. Discussed in detail in the next chapter, the objective of these raids on Southeast Asia may have been to establish direct trading contacts with China.

The raids and conquests by Chola rulers were, as is attested by donations and endowments to temples and monasteries, accompanied and often legitimized by donations to Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain institutions. As Meera Abraham has observed, the intimate association among the Chola state, merchant guilds, and religious institutions was one of the "vital elements in the Cōḷa state synthesis of the eleventh century."[70] Indeed, the Brahmanical temples built at Tamil merchant guilds in Southeast Asia and southern China evidence the successful integration of territorial expansion, mercantile activities, and religious promulgation undertaken during the middle period of Chola history.

The commercial towns attained their height during the late Chola period (1150–1279). During this third phase of *nagaram* development, local agricultural organizations supported by merchant guilds acquired greater independence and political power. They were able to do so mainly because of the diminishing political authority of the Chola rulers. Together the agricultural organization and merchant guilds fixed tolls, directed temple-building, and transported

agricultural surplus and commercial goods. Consequently, in the thirteenth century, merchant guilds, at the expense of the Chola court, emerged as some of the most powerful social and political organizations in southern India.

Throughout its evolution, the commercial towns provided a strong foundation to the internal and external economic activities of Chola merchant guilds. The encouragement by the Chola court furthered the expansion of Tamil merchant associations, such as the Maṇigrāmam and Ayyāvoḷe, into Southeast Asia and China. In her detailed study of the two associations, Meera Abraham has illustrated that Tamil merchants were engaged in the transport and disbursement of a variety of commodities along the Indian Ocean trade routes, and controlled trade on both the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of southern India. In fact, Tamil merchant guilds may have been as active on the Sino-Indian circuit of Indian Ocean commerce as were their Arab counterparts. More importantly, however, the coastal region of India and northern Sri Lanka under Chola rule provided a well-organized trading mechanism through which commodities could flow from China, on the one end of the global market, to the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean ports on the other.

In fact, Chola economic structures and policies may have proved crucial in the segmentation of Indian Ocean trade into profitable zones that linked Chinese markets to rest of the world. As can be discerned from the Geniza letters, written by Jewish traders who settled in southern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Chinese commodities that reached their designated markets in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region were relayed by merchants concentrating on specific segments patterned by the movement of the monsoon winds.[71] The movement of monsoon winds, as discussed below, made the Indian peninsula controlled by the Cholas the natural divide and an intersecting point between the Red Sea/Persian Gulf region and the Chinese ports. Goods destined for Chinese markets were handled by groups of merchants engaged in trade between Western Asia and southern India, and then transshipped at South Indian ports to trading ships concentrating on the southern India-China sector. The longer, single voyages between the Arabian peninsula and China, which were common before the tenth century, were abandoned for these safer, less time consuming trips that entailed considerably less transaction cost. Within this new pattern of maritime trade, the Chola trading emporium provided both the natural setting and economic

structure that greatly facilitated the movement of merchants and commodities across the Indian Ocean and contributed to the subsequent emergence of the "world economy" by linking the major markets of the maritime world.[72]

The Reconfiguration of Traders in Sino-Indian Trade

Sino-Indian trade was almost always part of a wider, multicultural commercial network that either contracted or expanded depending on the political and socio-economic circumstances of the regions involved. Already in the first century before the Common Era, Indian ports seem to have been important transshipment centers in the commercial exchanges between China and Rome. Chinese silk yarn and clothes reaching India through Central Asia were, for example, re-exported from Indian ports to Barbaricon and Barygaza and then shipped to Rome. In the same manner, Roman coral and glass reached Chinese markets via Indian ports.[73] In the sixth and seventh centuries, Indian ports were supplying Chinese silk to the markets in the Byzantine empire.[74] And by the end of the twelfth century, coastal India became an integral part of the vast East-West trading network that extended from the Chinese ports to the Mediterranean cities.

Even within Asia, Sino-Indian commercial exchanges were enmeshed in the economies of the Central and Southeast Asian kingdoms. Especially after the third century, when Buddhist doctrines started sustaining the trade between India and China, the Central Asian oasis states and the ports of Southeast Asia became important transit points in Sino-Indian commerce and cultural relations. In fact, the traders from Central and Southeast Asian kingdoms not only actively participated in the movement of commodities between India and China, but also played a significant role in the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China.

The Buddhist-Leaning Traders

The fact that Sino-Indian commercial exchanges were often part of a wider, multicultural trading networks is best evidenced by the rivalry among foreign traders in order to market commodities between and beyond the two countries. In the pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist phases of Sino-Indian relations, Parthian and Sogdian merchants seem to have been involved in much of the commercial activity between South Asia and the Far East. From the period of the Persian

King Mithradates I (r. ca. 171–139 B.C.E.) onward, but specially during the early reign of Mithradates II (r. ca. 123–87 B.C.E.), Parthian traders dominated the overland and maritime trade routes linking China, India, and the Roman Empire. The Parthians, who supplied Indian iron, Chinese silk, and Asian hides to Rome, are known to have competed with Roman merchants to maintain their monopoly over the maritime trade between coastal India and the Red Sea region. In fact, in order to control the vast trading network, the Parthians are reported to have tried to block Roman (Ch. Daqin) envoys from reaching China,[75] and also discouraged Chinese embassies from travelling to the Mediterranean region.[76]

Only in the first century, when the Kuṣāṇas established their powerful empire encompassing Central Asia and northern India, was the Parthian hegemony over trade routes linking China, India, and the Roman Empire seriously challenged. The change to a gold standard by the Kuṣāṇas, which was swiftly accepted by a number of neighboring Central Asian kingdoms, isolated the Parthians who sought to maintain their own silver standard.[77] The role of Parthian traders in international trade further diminished in the late second century due to frequent wars between the Romans and Parthians. Thereafter, the Sassanian, Sogdian, and Indian traders seem to have started sharing the profits from the trade across the Central Asian and Indian Ocean routes.

In the fourth century, the Sogdians emerged as one of the leading mercantile groups engaged in Sino-Indian commercial exchanges. The so-called "Ancient Letters" of Sogdian traders, discovered in 1907 by Sir Aurel Stein at a watchtower in Central Asia, reveals the existence of Sogdian mercantile guilds in China and in Central Asian colonies linking India and China.[78] Furthermore, Sogdian inscriptions and carvings from Shatial and other sites along the Karkorum Highway testify to their commercial activities in the markets in northwestern India.[79] Trading in commodities such as gold, musk, pepper, camphor, and silk, the Sogdian guilds in Loulan, Gaochang, and Dunhuang, important oases around the rims of the Taklamakan desert, seem to have controlled the flow of commodities to and from the Chinese hinterland.[80] Chinese sources dating from the Tang dynasty are replete with notices on the presence of Sogdian merchants in the capital Chang'an and records of goods they brought into China.[81] In fact, the Sogdian merchants and their families settled in Tang China may have numbered in thousands.[82] These

Sogdian merchants continued to play a significant role in China's trade through Central Asia even after the Hephthalites (Ch. Yida), sometimes referred to as White Huns, invaded Sughd, the capital of Sogdiana, in 509.[83] Between the sixth and the eighth centuries they played a significant role in formulating the economic policies of the powerful Turkic empire.[84] Then, in the middle of the eighth century, when the Uighurs had consolidated their power in Central Asia, Sogdian traders became key economic and political advisors at the Uighur court thereby maintaining their dominance over China's international trade through Central Asia.[85]

The involvement of Sogdian merchants in the maritime trade between India and China is reported in the biography of Kang Senghui (d. 280), one of the earliest Buddhist translators of Sogdian origin in China. The biography, compiled by Huijiao, tells us that Kang Senghui's family used to live in India and his father frequently traveled to northern Vietnam (Ch. Jiaozhi) to carry out mercantile activities.[86] During the same period, Chinese envoys approached a Sogdian named Kang Tai, who was representing the Southeast Asian kingdom called Funan (present-day Cambodia), to explore the possibility of importing "Yuezhi" (Indo-Scythian)[87] horses that were supplied to Funan by South Asian merchants. Moreover, in the first half of the eighth century, a Sogdian merchant colony seems to have existed in the southern Chinese city of Yingzhou, where a Sogdian native called Kang Qian was appointed as the *Duhu* (Protector-general) of Annan during the Tianbao era (742–755).[88] However, by the late eighth century, perhaps due to anti-Sogdian sentiment within the Uighur empire, the dominance of Sogdian traders in the international trade of China started to fade. In the ninth century, the Sogdian trading colonies in northwestern India and Central Asia became increasingly localized, eroding their role in long-distance trade not only along the Silk Route but also on the Indian Ocean.

During the period of Sogdian dominance, i.e., between the fourth and eighth centuries, Indian merchants worked in close association with the Sogdian guilds in Central Asia. The Sogdian "Ancient Letters" contain records of joint mercantile activities between Indian and Sogdian traders and suggest the existence of Indian merchant colonies alongside Sogdian guilds in Loulan and Shanshan regions of the Taklamakan desert.[89] Chinese documents found in the Dunhuang and Turfan regions in eastern Central Asia corroborate the notices of Indian traders found in the "Ancient Letters." Of special

interest is the document numbered 86TAM388:21, found in the Astana graveyard in Turfan. Dated to the early seventh century, the document includes the names of three individuals with the last name Zhu, Zhu Zhongxiang, Zhu Youxuan, and Zhu Sixiang, receiving payment in silver currency.[90] The last name "Zhu," part of the Chinese name for India (Tianzhu), was usually used for Indian natives in China. Although there were instances when Chinese monks also took an Indian name beginning with the graph "Zhu," in non-Buddhist settings it was invariably used to designate an Indian native. Since the three individuals received silver currency as "payment" and because they are not mentioned as belonging to any Buddhist monastery in the area, it can be presumed that these were Indian merchants rather than Buddhist monks. The Turfan documents also record the presence of Indian painters, monks, and Brahmans working or proselytizing in the area.[91] In addition, an inscription in Dunhuang cave 294 reports the donations from Indian merchants, probably those settled in the region.[92]

The activities of Indian merchants in China have been often overshadowed by the accomplishments of their more celebrated Parthian, Sogdian, and Arab counterparts. Scattered records from Central Asia and coastal China, however, indicate the presence of Indian traders in China at least since the third century. *Liang shu*, as noted above, suggests that Indian and Sogtian traders may have been supplying Central Asian horses through the maritime route to Funan and China in the middle of the third century.[93] By the fifth century, Chinese sources also indicate the presence of Indian merchant communities in coastal China. According to the early sixth-century Buddhist work *Chu sanzang ji ji*, for example, a son, who later became a Buddhist monk, was born to an Indian seafaring trader named Zhu Pole at the Chinese port of Guangzhou.[94] More than three centuries later, in the middle of the eighth century, the Chinese monk Jianzhen, while on his way to Japan, reports the existence of three Brahmanical temples and a number of Brahman priests in Guangzhou. He also noticed that the foreign merchants were planning to embark on a trading mission to India from the Chinese port.[95]

It is possible that South Indian merchant guilds who had, by the third century, established mercantile networks in Southeast Asia were also engaged in and had their own diasporas trading with the Chinese. Archeological evidence for the presence of Indian guilds in China, however, comes not from Guangzhou but from another

leading Chinese port city known to Marco Polo as Zayton (present-day Quanzhou in Fujian province). More than three hundred Brahmanical statues and artifacts, including a bilingual Tamil-Chinese inscription, point to the existence of at least one South Indian merchant guild in coastal China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The establishment of an Indian guild in Quanzhou and its connection to the maritime exchanges between Song China and the Chola kingdom is discussed in the next chapter.

The fact that some of the Indian merchants also frequented the Chinese hinterland and the capital is recorded in the Song encyclopaedia *Taiping yulan* (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopaedia of the Taiping Era). The work, referring to an episode from the Tang period, notes,

> An Indian merchant came to the capital to trade. He said that he could cast rock into pentachrome lapis lazuli. So he picked a piece of rock and from the whet-stone mountain, brought it to the capital and cast it. Indeed, the stone changed [into lapis lazuli]. The brightness [of the lapis lazuli he made] was more beautiful than the products coming from the West. The product was allowed to be sold in the markets so that it would be available to the common people. The multiple colors emitting [from the lapis lazuli] were so marvelous that when customers saw it there were none who did not marvel and think that it was made by the gods. From then on lapis lazuli became so cheap that nobody valued it anymore.[96]

Indeed, Indian records also confirm the trips of Indian merchants to the markets in Southeast Asia and China. The eighth-century work *Kuvalayamālā*, for example, recounts the discussions of Indian merchants who dealt in horses, elephants, pearls, ivory, and silk about their travels to Southeast Asia and China.[97] Another eighth-century text, *Samarāiccakahā*, reports one prince's plans for a commercial trip to China.[98] This work also notes of a sailor called Suvadana who had returned to India from China via Southeast Asia.[99]

The importance of Parthian, Sogdian, and Indian merchants in Sino-Indian relations must be recognized not only for their role in the exchange of commodities, but also for their contribution to the transmission of Buddhist doctrines to China. Many of the early transmitters of Buddhist texts in China were, in fact, Parthian and Sog-

dian natives. Famous among them were the Parthian monk An Shigao and the Sogdian Kang Senghui. Indeed, textual and archeological evidence, as noted in the Introduction, suggest that the earliest Buddhist communities in the Chinese hinterland may have been comprised of Parthian and Sogdian traders rather than Indian missionaries. With the establishment of Indian diasporas in China, the descendants of some of the Indian traders (similar to the son of the merchant Zhu Pole) may have converted to Buddhism and contributed to the dissemination of Buddhist doctrines in China.

Prior to the tenth century, Sino-Indian trade was founded on and supported by the network of mercantile groups that either adhered or were sympathetic to the Buddhist teachings. These merchants, irrespective of their nationality, helped monks travel between India and China, transported religious items required by the Buddhist clergy outside India, and, more importantly, financed and sustained the Buddhist institutions through donations. Buddhist monks and monasteries, in return, provided medical care and fulfilled the spiritual needs of itinerant merchants, and, as Xinru Liu has demonstrated, sustained the demand for Buddhist-related commodities. The influx of Muslim merchants and their subsequent dominance of the Indian Ocean and Central Asian trading routes diminished this reciprocal relationship between commercial specialists and Buddhist monks, and, as noted in the next few pages, transformed the pattern of Buddhist-dominated commercial exchanges between India and China.

The Advent of Muslim Traders

Traders from the Persian Gulf were not new to Sino-Indian commercial exchanges. Pre-Islamic Arab and Persian traders, in fact, were actively engaged in maritime commerce across the Indian Ocean at least since the early third century. Persian sea-faring merchants and ships became a common sight across Indian Ocean ports after the Parthian empire fell to the Sassanids in 225.[100] Over the next two centuries, the Persian traders monopolized the maritime trade between China and the Persian Gulf, and Red Sea regions. Persian control of the maritime trade seems to have had a significant impact on the external trade of the Byzantine Empire located in northern Africa. As a result, Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) is known to have made repeated attempts to end the Persian dominance. But in spite of the alliances forged among the Byzantine Empire, the Ethiopians, and

the Türks to accomplish the goal,[101] Persians continued to control the maritime trade until the seventh century when Islamic forces overthrew the Sasanian empire and many Persian traders converted to Islam.[102]

Within two centuries of the founding of Islam, the Arab forces, under the Umayyad and Abbāsid (750–1000) Caliphates, marched into northern Africa, the Mediterranean region, and even conquered parts of northwestern India and Central Asia. The trading guilds of Islamic merchants not only moved into the conquered lands, but also spread into the non-Islamic territories of coastal India and Southeast Asia. The presence of Muslim merchants in the western coast of India during the eighth century is reported by Arab writers, and evidenced by a Muslim tomb, dated to 788, discovered near Calicut.[103] During the subsequent period, not only did the number of Muslim traders settled in the western coast of India increase significantly, they also seem to have monopolized India's foreign trade over the Arabian Sea.[104]

A Tamil copper plate edict of 875 issued by the king of Madurai that granted asylum to a group of Arab immigrants indicates that Muslim traders had penetrated the Coromondel coastal region by the ninth century.[105] In fact, in the ninth century Muslim traders had already started trading in the maritime circuit between coastal India and China. *A<u>kh</u>bār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind* (An Account of China and India), compiled around 851 and often attributed to the merchant Sulaymān, and Ibn <u>Kh</u>urdā<u>dh</u>bih's *Kitaāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* (The Book of Roads and Kingdoms) record the voyages of Muslim seafaring merchants from the Arabian port of Siraf through Sri Lanka and India into the Chinese coastal town of Khānfū (i.e., present-day Guangzhou).[106] *A<u>kh</u>bār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind* also reports that Guangzhou was "a haven for the boats and a market-place of Arab and Chinese commerce" where "a Muslim is made an arbitrator by the ruler of China to settle the disputes arising among the Muslims visiting this region; this is what the King of China desires."[107] It was in Guangzhou that in 878, as Abū Zayd, the commentator of *A<u>kh</u>bār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, points out, Chinese rebel forces under Huangchao massacred foreign merchants, including thousands of Muslims and Jews.[108]

By the late tenth century, Muslim merchants were actively transporting Chinese silk and porcelain through southern India and Sri Lanka to the Persian Gulf. And in the same way, aromatics and other goods from the Persian Gulf/Red Sea regions were shipped to the

Chinese markets. Chinese ceramics excavated from Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka, Siraf, Aden, Cairo, and Spain, in addition to Arabic and Chinese sources, make it clear that Muslim merchants had organized an extensive trading network spanning from the Far East to the Mediterranean region.[109]

The fact that Muslim merchants played a prominent role in many of the smaller trading circuits within this vast network can be discerned from the Chola tributary missions to the Song court. The first Chola mission, which arrived at the Song court on the second day of the ninth lunar month of the eighth year of the Dazhongxiangfu period(October 16, 1015), after a journey of more than three years through Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Java, Śrīvijaya and Vietnam, was composed of fifty-two representatives, including the Chief Envoy Sha(Po)lisanwen (Choli Samudra?) and second-in-command, Pu Jiaxin. The latter, whose name can be reconstructed as Abu Kasim, may have been a member of Muslim trading diaspora in Chola territory. It can be inferred from the high position that he held in the Chola mission that Abu Kasim played an important role in the commercial exchanges between the Coromandel coast and China.[110] Similarly, the third Chola mission, which arrived at the Chinese court on the twenty-first day of the tenth lunar month of the second year of the Mingdao period (November 15, 1033), was led by a Muslim trader called Pu Yatuoli (Abu Adil?). It is possible that both Abu Kasim and Abu Adil were members of the Tamil-speaking Muslim community on the Coromandel coast known as *Ilappai* (=*arabī*?). André Wink points out that these Shāfi'ite Muslims of the Coromandel coast maintained their distinctive Arab traditions and "often became prosperous maritime traders and shipping magnates."[111] Suffice it to say that by the eleventh century, Muslim traders, in addition to the native Tamil merchants, were actively engaged in the trade between the Coromandel coast and the Chinese ports.

An examination of tribute missions from other Indian Ocean kingdoms to the Song court indicates similar participation by Muslim traders. They, for example, also led at least seven embassies from Śrīvijaya that arrived at the Chinese court between 961 and 1017. Embassies from Java, Borneo, and Champa also included Muslim traders with high-ranking positions.[112] It is apparent that by the mid-eleventh century, traders from Muslim diasporas dominated almost every circuit of Indian Ocean commerce from the Chinese coast to

India and beyond. The establishment of the Islamic trading network, from the Chinese coast to the Mediterranean region, facilitated the integration of markets in the eastern and western hemispheres, which led to the formation of what has been commonly referred to as the Afroeurasian world system (see Chapter 5).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Buddhist doctrines ceased to play an appreciable part in Sino-Indian relations, Muslim merchants had helped integrate Indian and Chinese markets and the commercial exchange between them into a wider, more profitable, and highly organized trading network. The emergence of the Islamic network mitigated the potentially devastating effects of the eventual collapse of Indian Buddhism on Sino-Indian trade. However, it also led to the rapid Islamization of merchant communities in coastal India and Southeast Asia, resulting in the diminished role and eventually the complete disappearance of Buddhist-leaning traders from Sino-Indian trade.

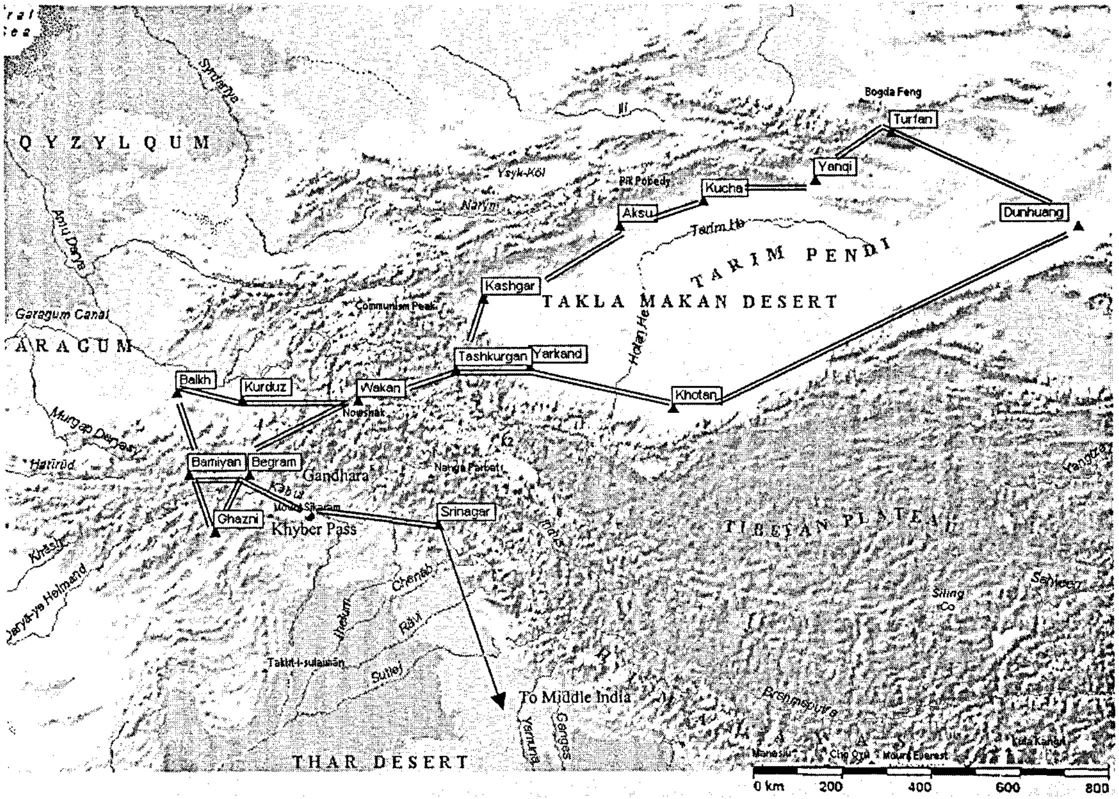
The Shifts in Trade Routes

Urban growth and decay, changes in economic policies, developments in navigation and ship-building technologies, and sustained political stability had a tremendous impact on the routes that linked India and China. The use or desuetude of these routes not only influenced the lives of people in the two countries, but also affected the cultures and economies of the intermediary states. The city states of Central and Southeast Asia are prime examples of how the emergence of new groups of traders and networks provoked changes in belief systems (from a preference for Brahmanism and Buddhism to Islam in the post-twelfth-century Central and Southeast Asia) and stimulated economic growth (as in the case of kingdoms on the Silk Route and in the Southeast Asian archipelago). At the same time, economic and political changes within the intermediary states had the potential to influence the interaction between India and China. The examples of Tibet and Śrīvijaya, discussed later in Chapter 5, illustrate how new channels of movement could be established and why disruptions and shifts in these routes had serious impact on Sino-Indian commercial and cultural exchanges. Here, my aim is to outline the major channels of trade between India and China, and demonstrate the enlarging role for maritime trade since the eighth century.

The Overland Routes

Overland trade between India and China before the seventh century was primarily organized through the Central Asian oasis states (Map 3). Popularly known as the Silk Road, the route passed through the northern and southern rims of the Taklamakan desert. The northern branch linked the oasis towns of Turfan, Kucha, and Aksu to Dunhuang in the east end of the Taklamakan and Kashgar in the west. The southern branch connected the towns of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan and converged with the northern route in Dunhuang. From Dunhuang, a number of well-maintained highways extended to the Chinese capital and towns in the hinterland. The route from Kashgar to northern India also passed through a number of smaller states, but the geographical contours varied more acutely. The first major town southwest of Kashgar was Tashkurgan (in present-day southwest Xinjiang province of China) from where the route entered the Pamir mountains. After crossing the mountain ranges, it traveled to the town of Wakhan; from Wakhan, the route passed through the towns of Kurduz (south of Amu Darya), Balkh, Bamiyan, Begram (all in present-day Afghanistan) and, through the Khyber Pass, entered Kaśmīr in northern India.

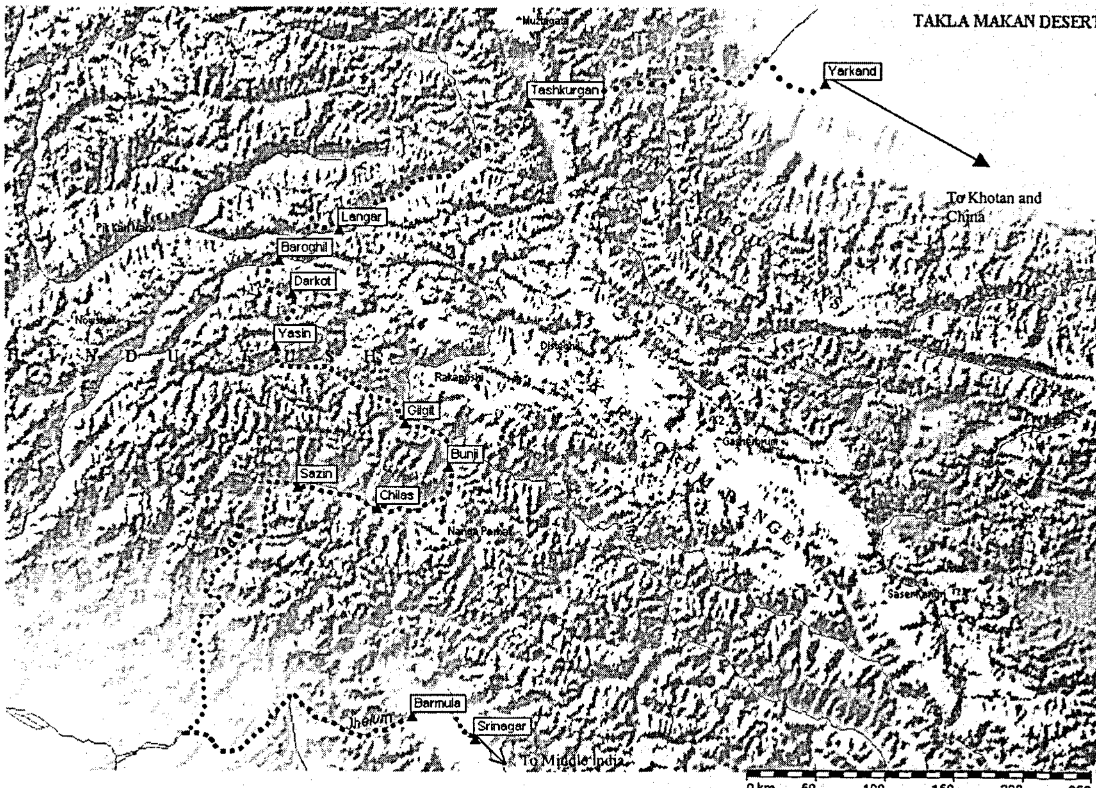
Until about the eighth century, as archeological evidence and the diaries of Chinese monks indicate, these two routes through the Central Asian states were favored by merchants and monks travelling between India and China. Occasionally, however, there were significant shifts in the routes linking northern India to Central Asia and China. One of the most consequential shifts took place in the mid-sixth century, when, as Kuwayama Shōshin has painstakingly illustrated, the route passing through the famous Buddhist region of Gandhāra was discarded in favor of a road that linked Kāpiśī (Begram) to Tashkurgan via Wakhan. This change, Kuwayama suggests, resulted from the decline of Gandhāra soon after the Hephthalite rulers withdrew from the region. After the decline of Gandhāra, Buddhist pilgrims and traders more frequently travelled through Kāpiśī, which in the meantime had developed into a prosperous Buddhist center.[113] As a result of this shift, Kāpiśī emerged as one of the leading staging points for the transmission of Buddhist doctrines and art to Central Asia and China, and, in the seventh and eighth centuries, became an important strategic partner of the Chinese court in the southern Hindukush region (see Chapter 1).



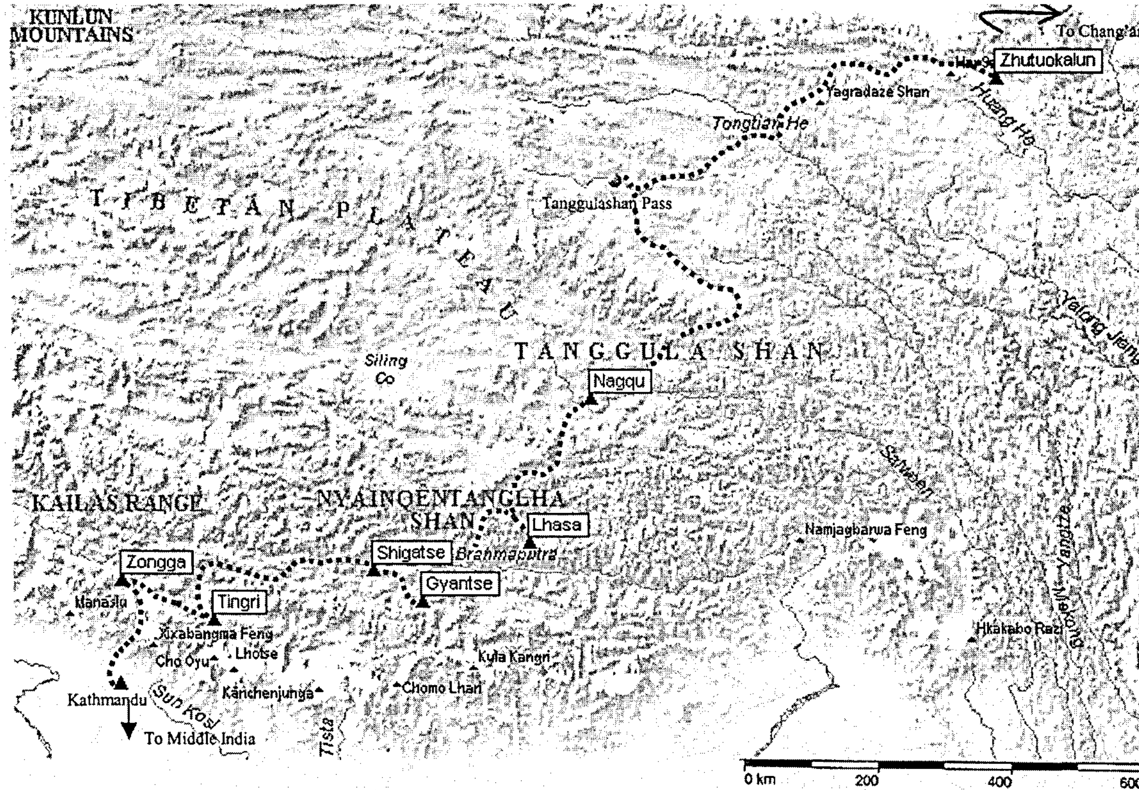
Map 3. The Central Asian Routes between India and China

Also connecting Central Asia and China to northern India was the route from Khotan through Gilgit and Chilas to the present-day Ladhak region of northern India (Map 4). The frequent use of this route is demonstrated by archeological and written sources. A Khotanese Saka document (Ch. 1.0021a) in the Stein Collection housed at the British Library in England gives a vivid description of the markets and Buddhist communities along this route.[114] The document, written in Dunhuang during the reign of the Kaśmīri King Abhimanyugupta (958–972),[115] is important in many respects. First, it confirms the survival, as was argued in the previous chapter, of Buddhist communities in Kaśmīr in the tenth century. Second, the document, along with the Khotanese-Chinese phrase books compiled by (and for) Indian pilgrims to Mount Wutai, testify to the Buddhist traffic between India and China through the southern Taklamakan region in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Third, the document also makes it evident that commercial links between northern India and Central Asia were sustained even after the Arab forces invaded parts of northwestern India. And, finally, when the document is collated with Chinese sources of the Five Dynasties and Song period, it becomes clear that the supply of north Indian products, including saffron, to the Chinese markets was undertaken by traders entering China through this Gilgit-Chilas-Khotan route.[116] This last point substantiates once again the argument that trade between India and China had continued even after the transfer of sugar-making technology.

Perhaps the shortest overland route linking India and China was through Tibet (Map 5).[117] This route, as pointed out in Chapter 1, was inaugurated in the mid-seventh century when peace was established between Tang China and Tibet. Although the route quickly became popular among Buddhist monks, imperial embassies, and, we may presume, merchants, its existence depended on the political situation in Tibet. Thus, in the late eighth century, when hostilities resumed between China and Tibet, the route fell into disuse for a few decades. However, from the mid-ninth to mid-tenth centuries, when the overland routes through Central Asia and Myanmar were disrupted by local warfare, the road through Tibet seems to have again facilitated the movement of Buddhist monks and merchants between India and China.[118] In the tenth century, with the developing ties between Buddhist monasteries in eastern India and those in Tibet,



Map 4. The Chilas-Gilgit Route

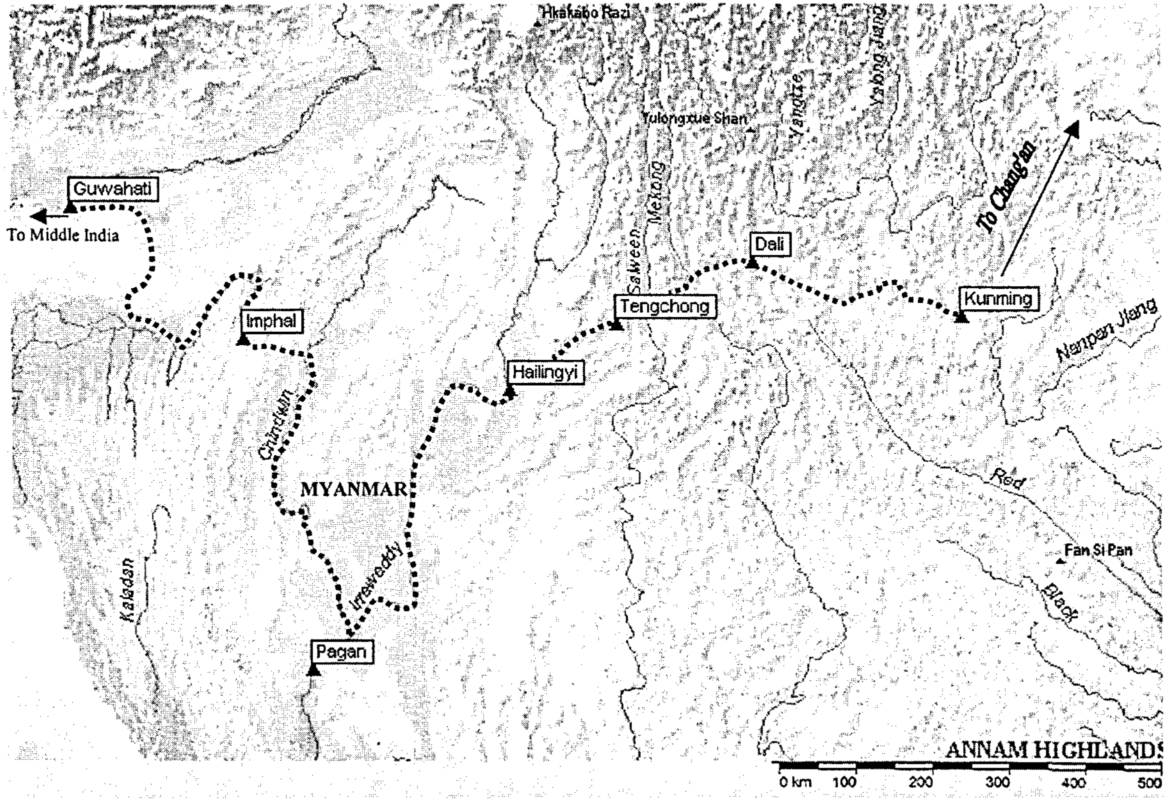


Map 5. The Tibetan Route

and due to the establishment of pro-Buddhist states by Khitans and Tanguts in northern China, the Tibetan route linking eastern India to East Asia was widely used by the Buddhist clergy. It can also be inferred from the Tibetan records of Indian Buddhist monks travelling to China through Tibetan territory and the Song notices of tribute-carrying Buddhist monks that mercantile activity in Buddhist-related items along the Tibetan route revived as well in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

A third and least studied overland route was one of the oldest, most arduous passages connecting the eastern region of India to southwestern China (Map 6).[119] The existence of this route was first noticed, as pointed out in the Introduction, by Zhang Qian, the Chinese envoy sent to Central Asia by the Han court in 126 B.C.E. Later, the Chinese monks Xuanzang and Yijing, and Arab traders also confirmed commercial and Buddhist traffic between India and China along this route. According to the Tang geographer Jia Dan (730–805), there were at least two routes from southwestern China to Assam in northeastern India. The first route linked the Annan region, covering areas in the present-day provinces of Guizhou and Yunnan, through the Black Mountains (the Arkan range) and Myanmar to Indian territories. The second route started at the town of Yangqumie (present-day Dali), passed through the Yongchang commandery of the Tang period and crossed over the Salween River and the Gaoligong mountain ranges to the city of Zhugeliang (present-day Tengchong). From Zhugeliang the route went south along the Irrawaddy River and then turned westwards into Hailingyi, the capital of the Pyu kingdom. From there the route extended to northwestern India, which, during the Tang times was occupied by the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

These various routes between India and southwestern China that traversed Myanmar were not only viable alternatives to Central Asian and Tibetan routes, they were also distinct and effective in their own right. Unlike the Central Asian and Tibetan routes, the Myanmar routes remained relatively free of political upheavals between the seventh and the mid-ninth century (after which the Nanzhao kingdom located in southwestern China unleashed a series of offensive military raids on Pyu that disrupted overland trade in the region).[120] In addition, the local production of silk, in both southwestern China and eastern India, the use of cowries as a common medium of exchange in the Assam-Yunnan region,[121] and the production of gold



Map 6. The Yunnan-Myanmar Route

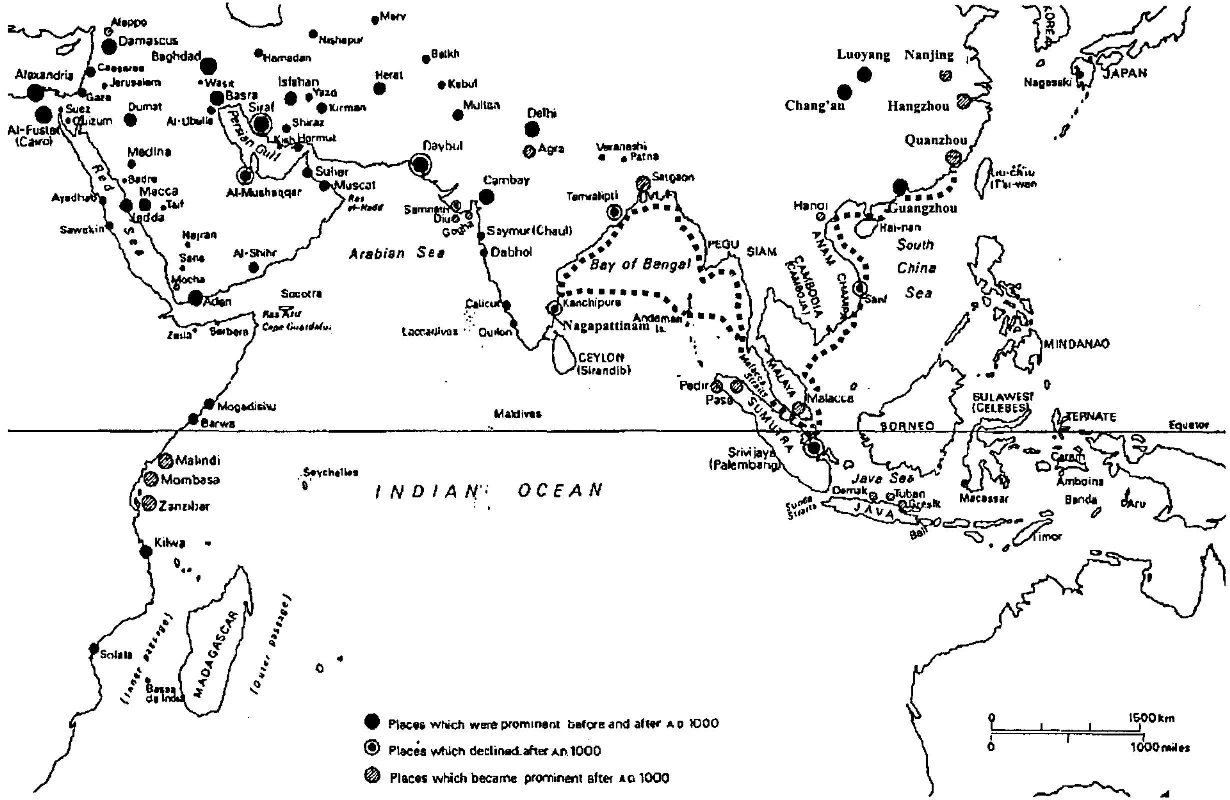
in the Pyu kingdom may have made trade along these southwestern routes more self-contained.[122]

Buddhist-related items, rhinoceros' horns, and silk fabric seem to be some of the commonly traded items among the kingdoms in northeastern India, Myanmar, and Yunnan. The fact that many of the commodities exchanged among the regional kingdoms also found their way into the wider trading networks is evidenced by Zhang Qian's report on Sichuan cloth and bamboo sticks in Bactria.[123] This is also documented in the first-century Greek text *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Periplus of the Erytheaean Sea), which reports that silk fabrics from southern Yunnan (Thina) were transported to ports in western India by the way of Ganges River.[124]

The Popularity of the Maritime Route

From the eighth century onward, the maritime route between India and China (Map 7), that either transversed through the Andaman and Nicobar Islands or skirted around the ports of the Bay of Bengal to Sumatra and into the South China Sea, became more popular than the overland routes mentioned above. Although maritime links between the coasts of the two countries were established much earlier, it was only after the advances in navigational techniques and a better understanding of monsoon winds during the turn of the first millennium and in the subsequent centuries, that travel across the Indian Ocean became less perilous and more profitable for merchants. In addition, political instability in Central Asia and the encouragement of commerce by southern Indian states in the eighth and ninth centuries also played a significant role in the rapid increase of maritime trade between India and China. Maritime exchanges were further stimulated by the expansion of Tamil and Muslim diasporas throughout the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea regions.

This growth of maritime commerce along the Indian Ocean was intimately linked to the development of shipbuilding technology and facilitated by the advancement in navigational techniques. Already in the eighth century, Chinese authors were reporting about the use of large sea-going ships capable of transporting one thousand men in addition to their normal cargo. The hulls of these so-called Kunlun ships seem to have been constructed with wooden planks sewn together with cords made with the bark of coconut trees.[125] Usually



Map 7. Indian Ocean Ports and the Maritime Routes between India and China. Modified after Chaudhuri, 1985

referred to as sewn ships, such vessals were commonly used by the South and Southeast Asian as well as Arab merchants.[126] Almost six centuries later, the Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarks that the only ships sailing across the Indian Ocean were built by the Chinese. Explaining the construction of the hulls of these Chinese ships he writes, "two (parallel) walls of very thick wooden (planking) are raised, and across the space between them are placed very thick planks (the bulkheads) secured longitudinally and transversely by the means of large nails, each three ells in length. When these walls have thus been built, the lower deck is fitted in, and the ship is launched before the upper works are finished."[127]

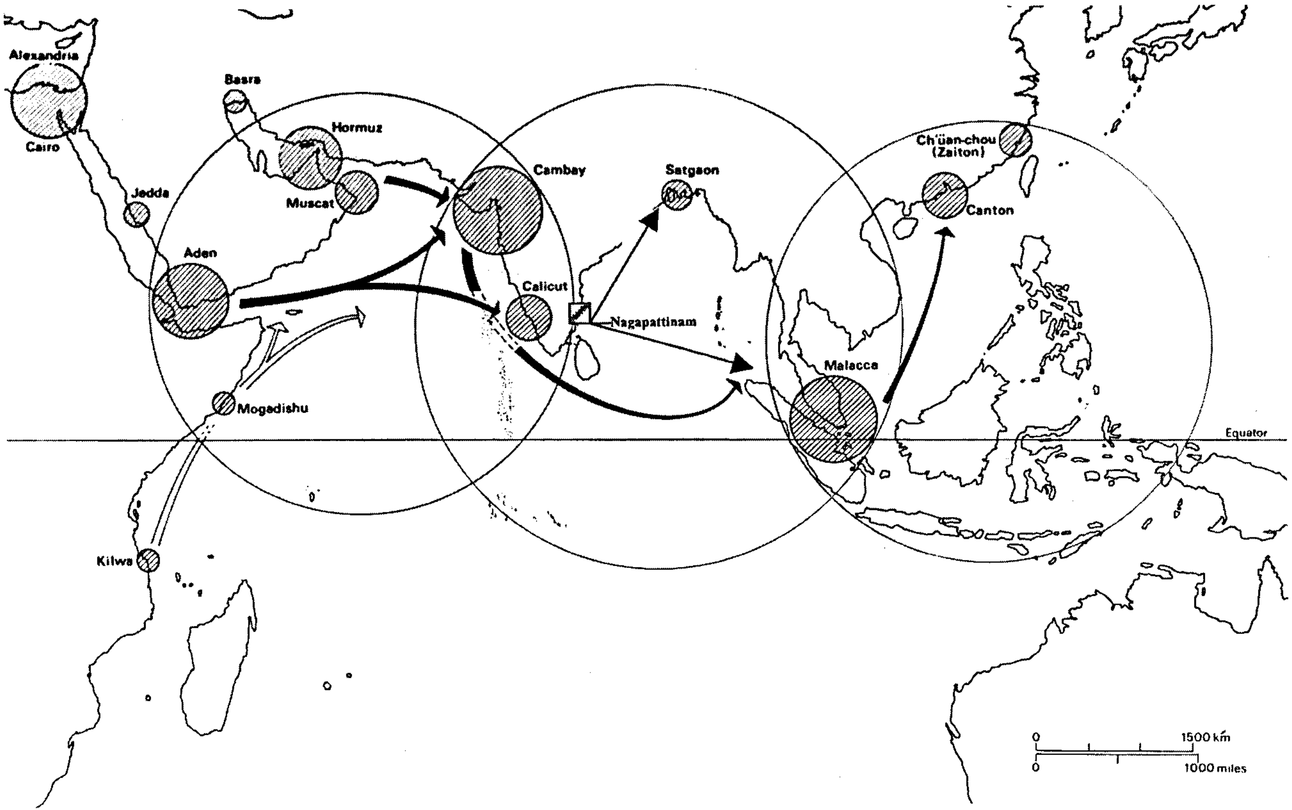
The point to note here is that the sewn ships of the eighth century were by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time replaced by ships with nailed hulls. This important transition, from coconut cords to iron nails, made the ships of the post first millennium period sturdier, bigger, and more ocean-worthy. Such large ships with nailed hulls started becoming popular during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By the time Marco Polo sailed from China to India in 1292, these ships already had multiple decks with cabins and rooms for sailors and merchants and a capacity for carrying a load of between 1520 and 1860 tons.[128] At the same time, changes in the designs of rudders and sails helped make these large ships faster yet highly maneuverable.[129] Moreover, the application of the rapidly developing mathematical astronomy in navigation and the use of the magnetic compass by sailors, at least since the eleventh century, facilitated the accurate charting of maritime routes.[130] This, in turn, made voyages across the seas safer and more reliable than during the preceding periods.

There was also, as noted above, a significant change in the pattern of maritime voyages across the Indian Ocean at the turn of the first millennium. The longer, time-consuming voyages, common in the pre-tenth century period, were discontinued in favor of less costly, shorter, segmented trips.[131] Based on the monsoon patterns, K. N. Chaudhuri points out that Indian Ocean trade from the Red Sea region to East Asia was, by the eleventh century, divided into three segments. "First of all," he writes, "there was the stretch from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to Gujarat and the Malabar. The second segment included the annual voyages from the coastal provinces of India to the Indonesian archipelago. In the final segment lay the economic exchanges between South East Asia and the Far East." More-

over, "at each junction of the segments," he states, "great urban emporia had developed, providing cargo and shipping services to the merchants and offering on the part of the political rulers an element of neutrality." Chaudhuri identifies these "emporia" as Aden, Hormuz, Cambay, Calicut, Satgaon, Malacca, Guangzhou, and Quanzhou (Map 8).[132]

One addition must be made to Chaudhuri's list of trade emporia in the Indian Ocean, based on the developments in the Chola kingdom outlined earlier. Archeological evidence and recent scholarship have made it clear that Nāgapaṭṭiṇam on the Coromandel coast was an important emporium actively engaged in and contributing to Indian Ocean commerce. Developed by the Chola rulers, Nāgapaṭṭiṇam was strategically located at the mouth of the river Kaveri, which furnished easy access to the hinterland through the well-organized economic structure of the Tamil kingdom.[133] The fact that it was a major port is supported by the discovery of Chinese copper coins and Qingbai and white porcelain excavated from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam,[134] and from the Song sources that record it as the port of departure for the Chola missions sailing to China.[135] South Asian pearls and other commodities exported to Southeast Asia and China, and commodities destined for ports in Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region, were either shipped or transshipped through Nāgapaṭṭiṇam. The port frequently received donations and funding from Chola and Śrīvijayan kings for the maintenance of the town and the building of new religious monuments for foreign merchant communities that had settled at the port. Indeed, by the eleventh century it had emerged as the main Chola port on the Coromandel coast.[136] While internal land routes connected Nāgapaṭṭiṇam to the ports in the Malabar coast, ports of the Bay of Bengal, including those in coastal Bengal and Myanmar, were linked through maritime channels. Śrīvijayan, Muslim, Jewish, and later the Chinese, sea-faring traders are known to have established their diasporas at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam.[137] In fact, the port seems to have continued to be an important emporium in East-West trade in the sixteenth century, when Portuguese and Chinese ships harbored at the Coromandel coast.[138]

A second aspect of K. N. Chaudhuri's influential study on Indian Ocean commerce must be highlighted here. Chaudhuri has suggested that the long-distance trade of eighteenth-century Asia was established through the unity of maritime and overland routes. "It is



Map 8. Emporia Trade in the Indian Ocean, including Nāgapaṭṭiṇam. After Chaudhuri, 1985.

certain," he writes, "that the maritime trade of Asia could not have been sustained for any length of time without the presence of inland urban centers and a productive agriculture capable of producing a food surplus and industrial raw materials. The caravan trade was the most spectacular symbol of this indivisible bond, though the humbler river boats and crafts played a role no less important."[139] As to the specific function and connection between the overland and maritime routes, he notes, "the main sea-lanes of the Indian Ocean served as conduits of trans-continental, as well as inter-regional, trade. A similar distinction can be made of the great highway systems of Asia. There were roads along which caravans traveled from one end of Asia to the other, while ports serving shorter, more localised voyages were connected to the hinterland by lesser roads which remained outside the influence of trans-continental caravans."[140] Chaudhuri also points out that "when the overland route was obstructed or made politically unsafe, the seaborne trade gained at its expense." Indeed, one may recall from Chapter 1 that the South Indian mission of 720 to China seems to have attempted to promote the maritime links when overland routes were being obstructed by the Tibetan forces. With the political disorder and instability in Central Asia after the collapse of the Uighur empire in 840, the maritime channel did indeed become an important option and source of income for traders engaged in commerce with China.

The bond between and the complementary function of overland and maritime routes in Sino-Indian relations is also revealed in the intimate relations between seafaring merchants and Buddhist monks that continued at least until the tenth century. The Indian monk Mañjuśrī, for example, reached China by the overland route, is recorded to have returned to India aboard a merchant ship departing from Guangzhou. In addition, during the Yongxi period (984–988), an Indian monk named Luohuna (Rāhula?) is noted to have arrived at Quanzhou and received donations and reverence from foreign merchants settled in the port city. The local merchants even funded a Buddhist temple in the southern suburb of Quanzhou for the monk to take residence.[141]

During the period between late tenth and the late twelfth centuries the commercial exchanges between India and China through overland and maritime routes show a very distinct pattern. While the traffic through the overland routes during this period was dominated by Buddhist monks and trade in Buddhist-related items (see

Chapter 5), the maritime trade was operated mostly by Muslim and Tamil traders dealing in bulk products and interested in transit trade between China and the Persian Gulf/Red Sea regions. The presence of Buddhist kingdoms, such as Tibet, Xi Xia, and Liao, along the overland routes on one hand, and the increasing number of Arab and Brahmanical diasporas in Indian Ocean states on the other hand, were likely reasons for producing this unique configuration of trade and religious missions across the maritime and overland channels.[142]

Changing Demand and Markets for Commodities

Each of the developments outlined above exerted considerable influence on the nature and volume of commodities traded between India and China. The increased use of maritime routes and the development of navigational and shipbuilding technologies in the post-tenth century period, for example, seems to have led to the growth in the volume of bulk products in Sino-Indian trade. The emergence of the Arab trading network in the tenth and eleventh centuries, on the other hand, injected new items into the stream of commodities being traded, many of which were solely for the purpose of transshipment trade. In addition, the economic and urban changes during the Song period paved the way for an expansion of non-religious Indian products being sold in Chinese markets. Two further commercial trends require some consideration: (1) the changes in the types of Chinese commodities exported to India; and (2) how, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, non-religious commodities and transshipment goods gradually displaced the Buddhist-related items that had sustained Sino-Indian trade during the first millennium.

Silk and Porcelain

It must be noted at the outset that silk and porcelain were not the only Chinese commodities that reached Indian markets. Chinese hides (*cīnasī*), vermilion (*cīnapiṣṭa/sindūra*), fruits (*cīnāni*=peach; and *cīnarājaputra*=pear), camphor (*cīnaka*), lacquer (*masāra*), and mercury were some of the other products imported by the Indians.[143] Chinese metals, especially gold, silver, and copper, are also known to have entered the Indian ports and market. But it is evident from the Indian sources that silk was the most esteemed Chinese commodity in India since before the Common Era. Used by aristocratic and wealthy families, Chinese silk seems to have reached India

in a variety of forms. One type of Chinese silk was known to the Indians as *Cīnāṃśuka*, which, according to the *Bṛhadkalpabhāṣya*, "was a cloth made from a worm Kośikāra by name or cloth made from smooth silk from a *janapada* Cīna by name."[144] The Indian epic *Mahābhārata* notes that on at least one occasion, the "people of China" presented the fabric *Cīnāṃśuka* to King Yudhṣṭhira.[145] A second variety of Chinese silk, perhaps with printed designs, was known in India as *uchitra Cīnāṃśuka*. Similarly, early Indian sources note a third type of Chinese silk called *Cīnapaṭṭa* available in Indian markets before the Common Era.[146]

These three varieties of Chinese silk were not only used in India, they were also re-exported to the Mediterranean region through Indian ports. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* suggests that Chinese silk fabrics were transported to Bharuch in western India through Bactria and Assam and then shipped to Arabian and Roman markets.[147] However, the demand for Chinese silk in India itself seems to have been so great that the fabric continued to be imported even after the decline of Roman markets in the fourth century, the emergence of competing silk-weaving industries in Byzantium and Persia during the seventh century, and the increased local production of silk in South Asia during the seventh and eighth centuries. The reason for this sustained Indian demand for the Chinese fabric, as Xinru Liu has explained, was the special value and prestige attached to the commodity among the Indian élite and religious groups.[148]

Indeed, the import and use of Chinese silk in seventh and eighth century India is evidenced in a number of South Asian sources. The eighth-century text *Kuvalayamālā*, for example, reports that Indian merchants were engaged in silk trade with Southeast Asia and China. The same text also records that *nettrapaṭṭa*, perhaps a variety of white silk fabric mixed with golden color, was obtained from the sale of buffaloes and cows in China.[149] Bāṇa, the famous biographer of King Harṣa explains that *nettrapaṭṭa* was one of six types of cloths used by the ruling class in Middle India in the seventh century. He also notes that a red [*Cīn*] *aṃśuka* was worn by princess Rājyaśrī of Thanesar, the sister of King Harṣa, during her wedding. A similar cloth was also worn by her mother, Yaṣomatī, when she performed *satī*.[150] A Chinese upper garment, known as *cīnacolaka*, on the other hand, seems to have been used by the Indian royalty from the first through the seventh centuries.[151] The demand for painted silk fabric from China is simi-

larly described in *Mālatīmādhavam* and the Jaina *Mahākāvyas*, and found in the works by eighth-century Indian authors including Daṇḍin, Rājaśekhara, Dāmodara Gupta, and Dhanapāla.[152]

In addition, Chinese sources point out that the Tang embassies visiting India in the seventh century brought large quantities of silk fabric in order to purchase Buddhist paraphernalia and offer it as gifts to the Indian rulers and abbots. Chinese monks making pilgrimages to India during the Tang period are also reported to have carried silk fabric for either travel-related expenses or for donations to Buddhist monasteries. Both Xuanzang and Yijing, for example, are known to have donated silk fabrics, robes, and canopies to Buddhist sacred sites in India to establish merit for themselves and also for the Chinese believers of Buddhism who were unable to visit India in person. "By giving silks to monks or envoys on pilgrimage to India," Xinru Liu suggests, "the donors earned merits for themselves. By donating the silks on their journey, pilgrims earned merits for themselves and their patrons."[153] The demand for Chinese silk in India declined only in the eleventh century when Islamic Tūrks introduced silk and sericulture technology into the Indian subcontinent. Thereafter, India, especially northern India, emerged as a major center for silk textiles in Asia.[154] This is not say, however, that the Chinese export of silk to India ceased after the eleventh century. A wide variety of Chinese silk, from coarse and fine silk fabric to patterned and painted silk cloth is known to have been imported into India through ports in Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

By the eleventh century, however, porcelain had already replaced silk as the leading Chinese commodity transshipped through India. Unlike Chinese silk, porcelain had little demand within India. It has been suggested that Brahmanical regulations against the use of fine ceramics may have restricted the demand of Chinese porcelain in India. Finlay, for example, explains,

> Except for a minority of Muslims, Indians did not use porcelain, and their ceramic traditions remained isolated from it. Ancient Hindu notions of religious pollution dictated that utensils made from earthenware, which are porous and thus cannot be thoroughly cleaned, must be discarded after use. This injunction was naturally extended to porcelain vessels when they became available in the ninth century, even though their surface is imper-

> meable. Of course, porcelain was always too expensive for such casual employment. Many scrupulous Hindus eschewed all ceramic utensils and instead used plates made of leaves or metal. Small-scale craftsmen made crockery in every Indian village, coarse red wares that reflected local social norms; they were neither traded widely nor influenced by foreign commodities."[155]

Thus, unlike Chinese silk, which was a highly valued and popular product among the Indian élite and the wealthy, porcelain attracted very few, if any, Indian consumers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The latter was nonetheless an important item in Sino-Indian trade because Indian merchants profited from re-exporting the commodity to the Islamic markets. In the same way, the coastal states of India, such as the Chola, profited from levying taxes on the commodity as it was transferred from one trading guild to another. Therefore, Chinese porcelain fragments, dating from the late Tang and Song periods, are mostly found at the southeastern and southwestern coastal regions of India rather than in the hinterland.[156] In fact, the demand for Chinese porcelain in the Persian Gulf/Red Sea markets and the capability of the Chola traders and ports to transship the commodity across the Indian Ocean may have been some of the key factors contributing to the rise of the Indian peninsula as a leading trading emporium.

With the Muslim conquest of northern and eastern India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the internal consumption of and, therefore, the trade in Chinese porcelain witnessed a rapid growth. Under the Sultanate of Bengal (1368–1576), Chinese ceramics started entering India in large quantities through the ports of Sonargaon and Satgaon. From Bengal, the Chinese product was distributed overland to the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526). The discovery of Chinese porcelain fragments in coastal Bengal and as far inland as Fatehpur Sikri are indications of the increasing local demand for the Chinese commodity subsequent to the establishment of Islamic empires in India.[157]

Changes in Chinese Demand for Buddhist-related Products

The transmission of Buddhist doctrines to China, as Xinru Liu has aptly demonstrated, created a market for Indian commodities required by the Chinese for performing Buddhist rituals and building

commemorative monuments such as *stūpas*. Coral, pearls, and lapis lazuli, three of the "seven jewels" advocated in Buddhist literature as appropriate objects for decorating Buddhist *stūpas*,[158] for example, became major Indian exports shortly after the spread of the doctrine into China. Large and superior quality pearls were also considered to symbolize the Buddha and his teachings, used on the forehead of statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, and functioned as wish-fulfilling jewels.[159] Similarly, coral was esteemed by the Chinese as a precious jewel, not only for its use in Buddhist rituals, but also because it was associated with the realm of immortality promoted by the Daoists.[160] The product was often glorified by Chinese poets and frequently depicted in Tang paintings of foreign tribute carriers. India, it seems, was one of main suppliers of coral to China, although the product was mostly imported into the subcontinent from the Mediterranean region.[161]

The transmission of Buddhism also motivated Indian merchants to supply a wide range of Buddhist paraphernalia, including the relics of the Buddha, Buddhist images, and ceremonial objects. Indian cotton garments, before the tenth century, can also be placed in this category because, unlike silk, it did not involve the killing of cocoons and, thus, complied with the monastic rules advocating the preservation of life.[162] The Chinese demand for Buddhist paraphernalia seems to have especially grown during the fourth to sixth centuries when the Chinese clergy attempted to encourage the legitimacy and efficacy of the foreign doctrine. Such demands expanded again in the late seventh and early eighth centuries when esoteric rituals achieved popularity in China. Prototypes of some of the artifacts excavated from the Famen Monastery, especially those made of gold, silver, and glass and laden with jewels, for example, may have been procured from Indian monasteries.[163]

In esoteric altars, established for summoning divinities, esoteric masters employed a wide range of ceremonial objects including incense burners (Fig. 2) and ewers (Fig. 3). The instruction for "Summoning and Feting the Divinities" in one of the esoteric texts, in fact, furnished detailed instructions on the use of religious ornaments and sacrificial goods. It recommends that the patron begin with "respectfully offering the *maṇi*-bejeweled vessel filled with perfumed water to the altar." Then, large quantities of incense were to be burned in special containers, and food and drink to be offered in jeweled vessels to the divinities.[164] Esoteric rites also included the use of jeweled crowns, precious necklaces, and cotton cloth for adorn-

ing Buddha and bodhisattva images. Rituals performed with such elaborate adornments were aimed at obtaining specific worldly benefits or averting various types of disasters. The Famen Monastery inventory is indicative of the lavish use of gold, silver, and other precious objects in esoteric rituals with similar motives.

What is revealing about the Famen Monastery discovery, however, is that a majority of the gold and silver objects excavated seems to have been manufactured in China, based, it seems, on Indian



Figure 2. Incense Burner, Famen Monastery

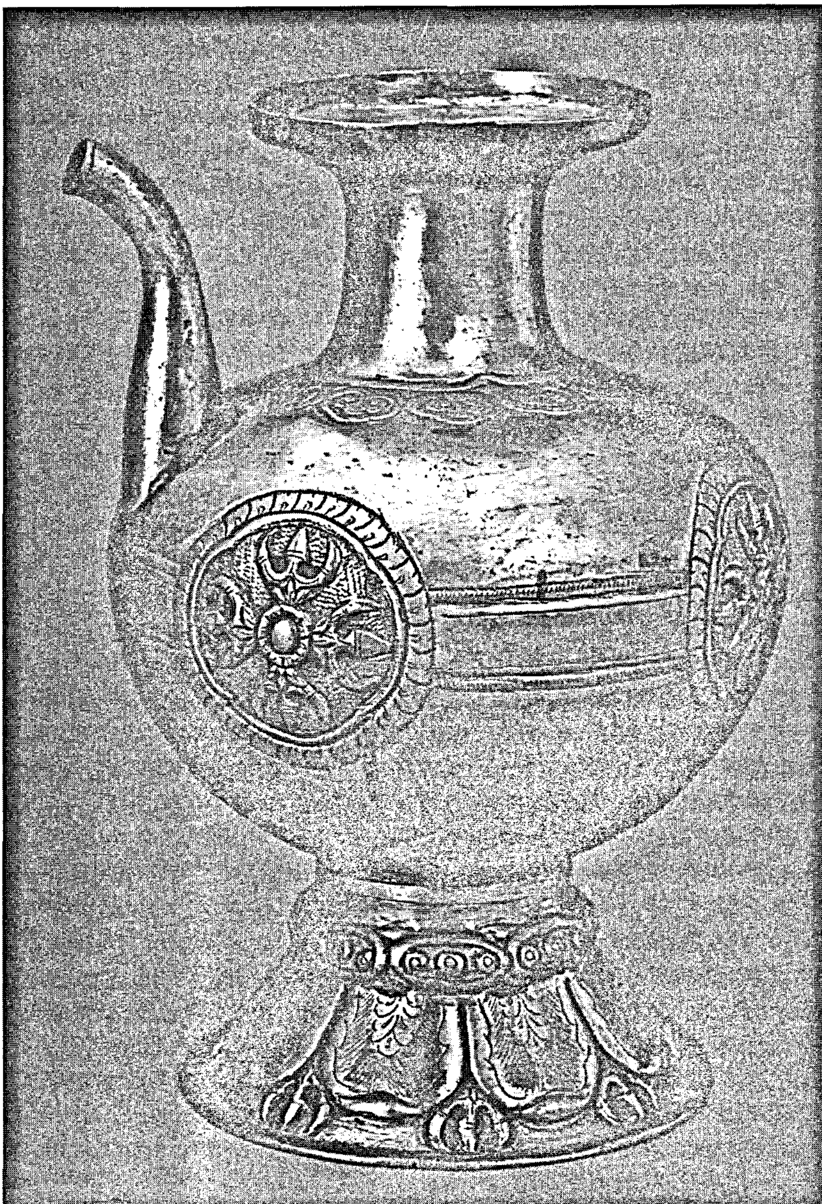


Figure 3. Ewer, Famen Monastery

prototypes. Of special interest are the relic coffers (Fig. 4), some of the Buddha and bodhisattva images, monks' staffs, and incense burners. These objects, which probably date from the ninth century, suggest that the Chinese were able to meet much of the demand for Buddhist-related items by the middle to late Tang dynasty. The temporary decline in Sino-Indian trade in the mid-eighth century and

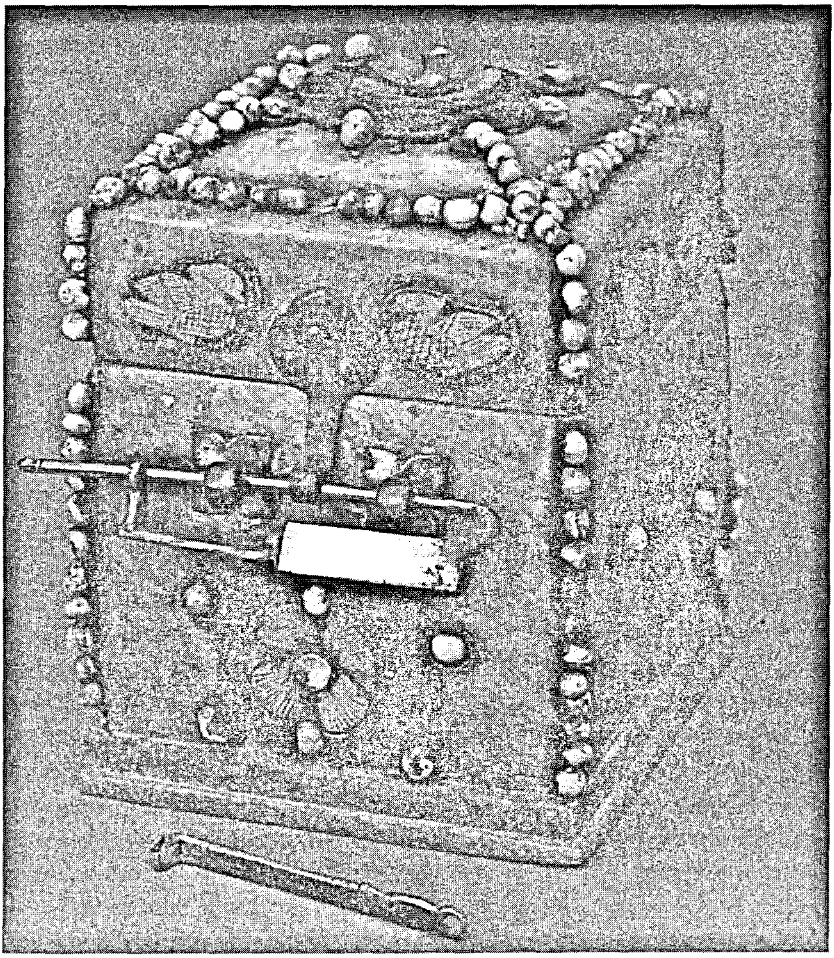


Figure 4. Relic Coffer, Famen Monastery

the rapid development of gold and silver mining in China during the corresponding period contributed to the increased local production of such objects.[165] By the tenth and eleventh centuries, when Sino-Indian commercial exchanges resumed, the local supply of gold and silver ritual vessels may have eroded the Chinese demand for ritual vessels manufactured in India. In addition, the Chinese were manufacturing their own lapis lazuli, one of the other important components of the seven-jewel ideology, and also producing sugar in quantities enough to sustain the demands of the Chinese clergy.

Thus, at the turn of the first millennium, the Chinese demand for Buddhist-related items was limited only to the relics of the Buddha and other paraphernalia directly linked to the historical Buddha. The frequent gifts of Buddhist relics given by Indian monks to the Song court bear proof, perhaps, to the enduring popularity of Buddhist remains in East Asia. Indeed, as was pointed out in Chapter 2, Chinese clergy had displayed a keen interest in acquiring Buddhist relics from India since at least the fourth century. The remains of the Buddha, for example, were recorded to have been presented to the Chinese court by Indian embassies, or miraculously created by foreign monks in China. There are also instances when Chinese monks or envoys purchased them from Indian monasteries. Wang Xuance, for example, is reported to have paid four thousand bolts of silk to purchase a relic of the Buddha housed in a north Indian monastery.[166]

The fact that these relics, irrespective of the method of acquisition, fetched high prices in Chinese markets is illustrated by an anecdote found in Duan Chengshi's (d. 863) *Youyang zazu* (Miscellany of the Youyang Mountain). Duan tells a story of a Chinese monk called Kuang who once received a "rotten nail" as a donation. Not knowing what or how valuable it was, the monk took it to a foreign merchant in the Tang capital Chang'an. The foreign merchant detecting the true value of the precious object, asked the monk,

> "Where did you obtain this object, High One? If you must make a commodity of it, I won't stint the price." The monk made a trial of asking a hundred thousand. The Westerner gave a great laugh, and said, "You haven't reached it! Go just as far as you will, and then speak again!" He kept adding, up to five hundred thousand, and even then the Westerner said, "This is worth a thousand myriads!" And so he gave it to him for that. The monk inquired after its name, and he said, "This is the Precious Bone."[167]

From this anecdote and the veneration of relics at the Famen Monastery, it seems clear that the fascination with the remains of the Buddha in China had peaked during the Tang dynasty. Although the participation of the Song court in the activities related to relics worship falls short in comparison to some of the Tang rulers, Chinese clergy in the tenth and eleventh centuries continued to venerate the remains of the Buddha.[168] In fact, the popularity of the Chan school during the Song period, which emphasized the sacredness of the remains and mummified bodies of Chinese and Indian monks,[169] may have even broadened the concept of relic veneration and, as a result, sustained its demand in China.

In fact, the remains of the Buddha, and objects associated with relic veneration, gained a much wider commercial market in East Asia during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The formation of new Buddhist states under the Khitans and Tanguts, and the *stūpa*/Aśoka cult that subsequently became popular in these kingdoms, resulted in an increase in the circulation of Buddhist relics and other such paraphernalia in areas surrounding Song China. In 1038, for example, the Tangut court is noted to have commemorated 150 relic fragments of the Buddha with lavish gifts and donations reminiscent of the Tang activities at the Famen Monastery.[170] Similarly, Japanese and Korean monks are known to have acquired large quantities of relics on their trips to Song China and popularized the cult of relic worship in their native countries.[171]

Brian Ruppert is right in stressing the role of merchants in the circulation of relics. "Merchants," he writes, "were most actively involved in the mobilization of, and offerings to, Buddha relics. Merchants sometimes traded goods from *stūpa* property in order to increase the value of offerings to the reliquary. They may also have sometimes carried relics to the lands of their travel."[172] This resurgent demand for Buddha relics in East Asia seems to have instigated South Asian merchants to explore the markets extending from Tibet, through Khitan and Tangut territories, all the way to the Song capital.

An important factor sustaining this demand for Buddhist paraphernalia in East Asia, especially those for sacred remains and texts, was the perceived notion of the imminent demise of the doctrine. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the Buddhist prophecies foreboded a stage when the genuine teachings and the sacred traces of the Buddha would disappear, which would then be followed by the complete demise of the doctrine. This view seems to have instigated

the Buddhist community in East Asia, including the governments that used Buddhism as a state doctrine (such as the Khitans and Tanguts), to collect and horde the remains of the Buddha and the canonical texts.[173] The growing number of Indian relic and text carriers to the Song court (as was suggested in the previous chapter) is indicative of the emerging and persistent markets for Buddhist paraphernalia in East Asia after the tenth century. It is possible, then, that the relics and texts brought from India were not only meant to meet the Chinese demand, but may have been also re-exported to the neighboring Khitan and Tangut kingdoms. The supply of relics from India subsided only in the fourteenth century,[174] after the invading Islamic forces destroyed the monastic institutions in eastern India. But, by this time, China had already developed into a legitimate Buddhist center in East Asia, able not only to fulfill the spiritual and doctrinal needs of its owns, but also the material requirements (such as the printed versions of the Buddhist canon) of the Buddhist clergy in the neighboring regions.

The Increasing Export of Non-Buddhist Products to China

Chinese sources confirm that Indian products not solely used by the Buddhist clergy, such as aromatics and rhinoceros, horns, were also imported into China in the first millennium. As noted in Chapter 1, the north Indian state of Kaśmīr, for example, was supplying agricultural products to the Chinese troops encamped in Central Asia. Other Indian commodities, especially aromatics used as fragrance and in medical prescriptions, seem to have been exported in bulk quantities through the Central Asian routes to the Chinese hinterland.[175] The movement of bulk commodities through the Central Asian routes, however, diminished after the eighth century, a consequence primarily of political instability in the region.[176] Thereafter, maritime routes became a more viable way of transporting bulk goods to and from the Chinese markets.

The shift to and the subsequent popularity of maritime routes produced various changes in the types of commodities traded across the Indian Ocean. Robert Hartwell, for example, points out that exotic items and luxuries that were common imports into China before the tenth century, could no longer by themselves sustain the large-scale maritime network of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[177] "A sustained long distance trade could only survive," he writes, "if

exporters could expect to recover the cost of their ventures by carrying a large proportion of their merchandise in items that were assured of sale for more or less predictable prices." As a result, Hartwell argues, a new list of "staples," which included horses, sulphur, gharuwood, frankincense, sandalwood, sapanwood, spices, camphor, ivory, putchuck, and cinnabar, became the main exports to the Chinese market. These "staples," according to Hartwell, had two important characteristics: "1) they were expensive relative to the cost of transport; and 2) they had a large and inelastic demand [in China]."[178] In addition, structural changes in Chinese economy ensured a steady supply of the new foreign commodities to the growing urban population through well-integrated trading networks and intra- and inter-regional distribution systems.[179]

These developments resulted in at least three significant ramifications in terms of the composition of products traded between India and China through the maritime routes. First, the proportion of Buddhist-related items marketed by the seafaring traders seems to have dropped dramatically. Second, the export of non-luxury Indian products, such as black pepper, cardamom, and putchuk, gradually increased in the tenth and eleventh centuries. And finally, by the twelfth century, third-country products, such as frankincense or products destined only for markets in a third country (Chinese porcelain for instance) became essential components of Sino-Indian maritime trade.

The dwindling importance of Buddhist-related items in maritime trade is evidenced by the tribute presented to the Song court by the Chola embassies. In contrast to the Indian embassies arriving at the Song court overland, which, as noted, regularly proffered relics and other Buddhist paraphernalia, the tribute from the Cholas consisted of the following products: frankincense, elephant tusks, pearls, putchuck, rhinoceros horn, cloves, rosewater, and barus camphor. Except for pearls, none of these products was related to the Buddhist concept of "seven jewels" or used primarily in Buddhist rituals. Even pearls imported by the Chinese during the Song period may have had little Buddhist significance. Rather, the tribute presented by the Chola missions are exemplified "staples" furnished to the Chinese markets by the maritime trade,[180] as well as third-country and native commodities handled by Tamil merchant associations.[181]

While frankincense and rosewater are examples of goods originating in the Persian Gulf (especially Hadramawt) and transshipped

to China through the south Indian ports, pearls, putchuck, and rhinoceros horn seem to be of Indian origin. These Indian products were, reportedly, regularly shipped to China from ports in Malabar and Coromandel.[182] By the late thirteenth century, cotton fabric from Bengal, Coromondel, and Malabar also became one of the leading Indian commodities exported to the Chinese markets. The changes in the Chinese use of foreign products seem to be one of the primary reasons for the increasing volume of "staples" in the Indian Ocean trade. Hartwell has demonstrated that ingredients used in medical prescriptions, incense, and cuisine grew appreciably during the Song period. Noted in Table 3, one prescription to cure constipation, for example, extended the list of ingredients from three during the Tang to seventeen in the Song period (the original source of these ingredients is given in parentheses, and items known to have been marketed by the Tamil merchant guilds are marked with an asterisk).[183]

This prescription from the Song period hints at the enhanced availability of a wide range of foreign staples in Chinese markets, as well as the Chinese use of these imported commodities. The magnitude of the impact of these foreign products on local Chinese economy is measured by the so-called "Frankincense Rebellion" in Hunan and Guangxi provinces of China during the 1170s. The Chinese, who used the frankincense, a commodity originating in the Dhofar and Hadramaut regions of the Middle East, for making incense, in cuisine, and in medical prescriptions, consumed it at a rate of several hundred tons a year. Śrīvijayan merchants, as Hartwell has noted, monopolized the shipment of frankincense to China. Not only did the Śrīvijayan traders sell it to the Chinese port authorities, they also frequently carried fifty or more tons of the product as tribute to the Song court. The Chinese government either sold the product at very high prices in domestic markets or arranged for its re-export to Korea and Japan for even greater profit. This practice resulted in the hoarding of the commodity until the 1170s when the court tried to unload the surpluses at state prices. This, in turn, according to Hartwell, "provoked [an] uprising in Hunan and Guangxi. . . . Subsequently, government purchase was suspended, resumed for a brief period after 1192, and was terminated once again in 1207. The instability of the frankincense market must have had a great effect on the Arabian economy. Certainly, its impact on the Indonesian trade is clear. For only the first time in over two hundred years, the

Table 3. A comparison of prescriptions to cure constipation

Tang	*Northern Song*
Ginseng 16.82%	Myrrh 3.43% (Middle East)
Pearls 16.82%	Cloves 3.43% (Southeast Asia)
Musk 16.82%	Quicksilver 3.43% (?)
	Cardamom 3.43% (South/Southeast Asia)
	Black Pepper 3.43% (South/Southeast Asia)*
	Gum Benjamin 3.43% (Southeast Asia)
	Nutmeg 3.43% (Southeast Asia)
	Asafoetida 3.43 % (Southwest Asia)
	Amber 6.85% (Middle East)
	Rhinoceros horn 10.28% (South/Southeast Asia)
	Ginseng 13.70% (East Asia)
	Cinnabar 13.70% (China)
	Sulphur 17.13% (Southeast Asia)
	Betel-nut 17.13% (South/Southeast Asia)*
	Musk 23.98% (South Asia/China)*
	Putchuck 27.41% (Middle East/South Asia)*
	Sal Ammoniac 1.39% (?)

1178, and last recorded, tribute mission from Sri Vijaya carried no frankincense."[184]

The Chola embassies, which presented about 30 kilograms of frankincense in 1015 and sometimes even greater quantities of the product in the subsequent missions to the Song court, also seemed to be interested in supplying the lucrative Middle Eastern commodity to the Chinese. The Śrīvijayan monopoly of frankincense and the Chola attempt to gain a share of the market underscores the increasingly common maritime practice of trading in third-country products after the tenth century. The geographical location of Śrīvijaya seems to have made it possible for it to monopolize the re-export of frankincense and many other products entering into or exiting Chinese markets. Arab diasporas in the Indian Ocean were similarly engaged

in the marketing of third-country products, as were the Tamil merchant guilds.

Indeed, some of the Song sources credit the Chola kingdom for producing commodities that were in fact foreign to the south Asian region. Camphor, civet (Ch. *wuna qi*), coral, amber, opaque glass, and nutmeg are some of the commodities erroneously credited to the Coromandel coast by the Song authors Zhou Qufei (fl. twelfth century and Zhao Rugua (1170–1231). Since both Zhou and Zhao gathered their information from foreign merchants entering the Chinese ports, it is likely that the errors may have resulted from the traders declaring the commodities they carried as native produce. The next chapter will explore in detail the rivalry between the Cholas and Śrīvijayas to win control of the lucrative trade in third-country products.

Because of the changes in internal economic policies and structure and external stimuli from Muslim merchants, then, the commercial segment of Sino-Indian exchanges witnessed rapid growth and diversification during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While urban growth (or revival, as in case of northern India) in India and China created demand for new commodities and stimulated commercial activity, the fiscal needs and the allure of commercial profit encouraged foreign trade. Also by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Muslim traders had replaced the Buddhist-leaning merchants who had dominated Sino-Indian trade from the first through the eighth centuries; the Islamicized maritime route emerged as the main channel of commercial exchange between the two countries; and bulk, nonluxury goods, of both native and foreign origins, gradually surpassed in volume and prominence the Buddhist-related items that had previously sustained economic activities between India and China.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Phases and the Wider Implications of the Reconfiguration of Sino-Indian Trade

> But, we out of mercy for the sake of glory and merit, are granting everything besides the fixed duty to those who have incurred the great-risk of sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more valuable than even life.
>
> —Edict of Mahārāja Ganapatidēva (fl. thirteenth century)

For most part of the first millennium, Sino-Indian relations were characterized by the confluence of long-distance trade and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China. In the ninth and early tenth centuries, however, the exchanges between India and China were being significantly restructured because of the diminished influence of Buddhism, the expansion of commerce, and the Islamization of the trading networks linking the two regions. By the end of the tenth century, Buddhist doctrines neither stimulated the cultural exchanges, nor played a dominant role in sustaining the long-distance trade between India and China. Consequently, Sino-Indian relations at the beginning of the second millennium were no longer centered on Buddhist theology or defined by the transmission of Buddhist doctrines to China.

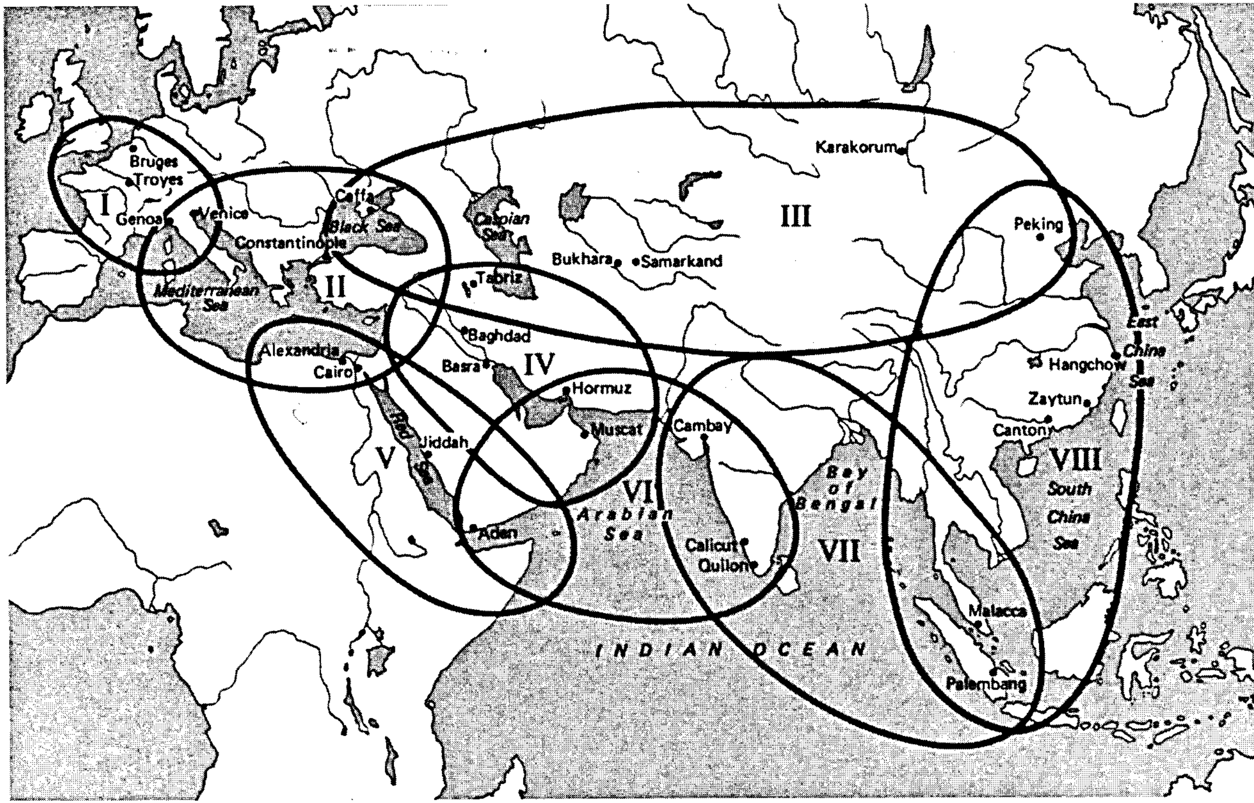
The diminished role of Buddhism in Sino-Indian interactions had surprisingly little impact on the volume of trade between the two regions. In fact, as this chapter will demonstrate, trading activities between the two regions entered its most vigorous phase in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and peaked in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The burgeoning markets in China, the vibrant

coastal regions of India, and the expanding Islamic trading network prompted the beginning of a new pattern of Sino-Indian commercial and cultural interactions—one that was dominated by mercantile concerns instead of Buddhist doctrines and pilgrims.

The Integration of Afroeurasian Trade

The year 1000 has been recognized as a watershed in world history because it inaugurated a period of significant realignment of cross-cultural interactions and an unprecedented growth of commercial activity on a "global" scale.[1] Jerry Bentley has called the period between 1000 and 1500 the "Age of the transregional nomadic empires." He is referring to the important contributions of the Khitans, Tanguts, and the Jurchens to the reemergence of Central Asia as an economically vibrant region, leading to, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the eventual expansion of the Mongol ascendancy beyond Persia. Bentley suggests that "the migrations, conquests, and empire building efforts of the nomadic peoples guaranteed that cross-cultural interactions would take place in more intensive and systematic fashion than in earlier eras. Indeed, in the case of the Mongols, the establishment of a vast, transregional empire underwrote direct interaction between peoples from lands as distant as China and Europe."[2]

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also feature in Janet L. Abu-Lughod's influential book that examines the integration of major markets in Europe, Africa, and Asia into a single, large-scale and well-structured trading network. This network, which she calls the "thirteenth-century world system," was linked through eight politically and culturally diverse "subsystems" (Map 9) that stimulated cross-cultural trade by facilitating the movement of merchants and merchandise.[3] The eight subsystems, Abu-Lughod proposes, could be grouped into three larger circuits: the Western European, the Middle Eastern, and the Far Eastern. The European circuit included east-central France, Flanders, and the Italian peninsula. The Middle Eastern circuit linked ports in the Italian peninsula to those in West Asia. And the Far Eastern circuit extended from Constantinople to China. Dictated by the monsoon winds, the Far Eastern circuit had its own three smaller and interlinked circuits that extended from the



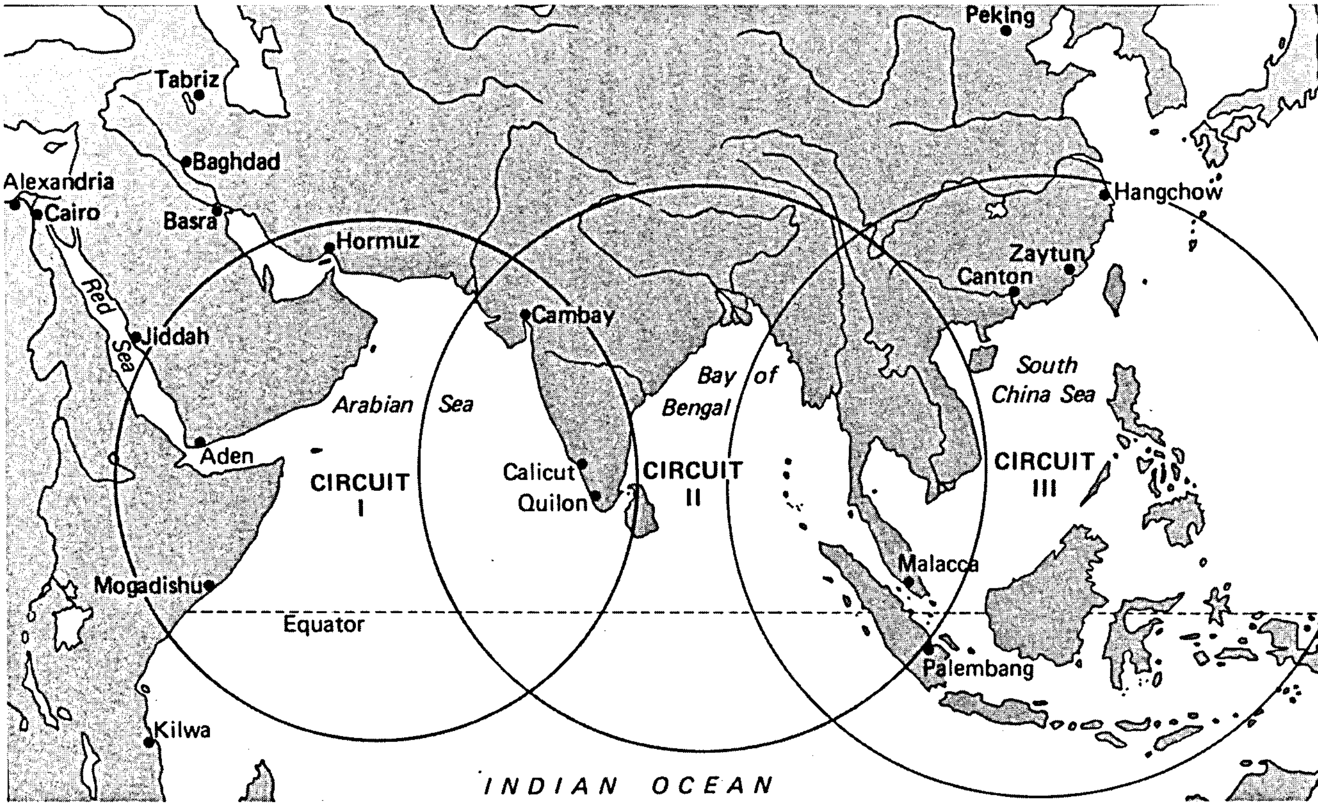
Map 9. The Thirteenth-century World System. After Abu-Lughod, 1989.

Red Sea-Arabian Peninsula-Persian Gulf to the southwest tip of India, southeastern India to the Straits of Malacca, and the Straits of Malacca to southeastern China (Map 10).[4]

Various subsytems of this larger world system mobilized labor to produce goods that not only met domestic needs but also led to significant surpluses that were then exported to foreign markets. Commodities involved in intra- and inter-circuit trade ranged from agricultural items (such as aromatics and spices) to manufactured goods (such as porcelain wares and textiles). In addition, the states that participated in commercial exchanges within and across the interlocking circuits established mechanisms that sustained the flow of capital, formed mercantile associations that ensured the movement of goods across the hinterland, marketplace, and international ports, and, at the same time, maintained economic institutions capable of overseeing large-scale trading activities.[5]

At the core of this thirteenth-century world system, Abu-Lughod argues, were the markets of China. The demand for foreign commodities in Chinese markets stimulated the economy of the eastern Mediterranean, and the development of the "upstart" and "peripheral" western European circuit, in turn, was partly sustained by its trade with eastern Mediterranean markets. Unlike Immanuel Wallerstein's proposed "modern world system," that was established and dominated by the European nations in the sixteenth century, the thirteenth-century world system, Abu-Lughod explains, "contained no single hegemonic power."[6]

This vast world system collapsed in the middle of the fourteenth century with the spread of bubonic plague from China to Western Europe. The contagion of the plague, Abu-Lughod asserts, led to the break up of the Mongol empire, the decline in population and urbanization in Europe, and reduction in the production and supply of mercantile goods in northern Africa.[7] Two centuries later, European powers penetrated and then began dominating various circuits of this thirteenth-century world system, thus creating the so-called "modern world system." Abu-Lughod argues that "Europe did not need to *invent* the [modern world] system, since the basic groundwork was already in place by the thirteenth century when Europe was still only a peripheral and recent participant. In this sense, the rise of the West was facilitated by the preexisting world economy that it restructured."[8]



Map 10. The Far Eastern Circuit

Indeed, Abu-Lughod's analysis of the thirteenth-century world system has had a significant impact on the study of pre-colonial world history, economic exchanges before European hegemony, and cross-cultural interaction during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. More important, her work has highlighted the significance of Chinese markets in facilitating the formation of a large-scale and cross-continental trading network before the spread of European powers into Asia and Africa. In fact, she writes,

> China's geographical position in the thirteenth century world system was crucial because it linked the northern overland route with the equally if not more important Indian Ocean sea route. When both of these pathways of trade were fully functioning, and particularly when China was unified and could therefore serve as a 'frictionless exchange medium' to connect them, the circuit of world trade was complete. Indeed, it was only when this circle was completed in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries that one could speak of a premodern 'world system.'[9]

However, it is this emphasis on China—not its proposed impact in the thirteenth century but its perceived decline after the fourteenth century—that has drawn various critics. Andre Gunder Frank, for example, has argued that Chinese influence on world economy persisted well into the eighteenth century, until China eventually collapsed in the face of colonial powers during the Qing period.[10] An examination of the contentions between Abu-Lughod and Frank pertaining to the China-centered world system after the fourteenth century is beyond the temporal scope of this book. Moreover, it would be a distraction for our purpose to become embroiled in the theoretical disputes that has ensued over the antiquity of the world system.[11] Rather, taking Abu-Lughod's conception of a thirteenth-century world system as a premise, one of the goals of this final chapter is to trace the gradual expansion of trade within the various circuits of Sino-Indian intercourse which, in turn, facilitated the formation of the larger Afroeurasian commercial network. Moreover, by presenting the unfolding of bilateral trade from the seventh to the early fifteenth centuries within a chronological framework with evidence from the preceding parts of the book, this chapter traces the gradual restructuring of commercial exchanges between India and China from a Buddhist-centered to a market-dominated activity.

Seventh to the Ninth Centuries: The Continued Dominance of Buddhism

Sino-Indian exchanges between the early seventh century and the collapse of the Tang control of Central Asian regions in the middle of the eighth century, compared to the previous six centuries, grew in intensity and substance. Moreover, Sino-Indian commercial exchanges during this phase, like the bilateral diplomatic and religious interactions, took a variety of forms and exerted profound influences on the two regions and the intermediary kingdoms.

An important segment of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges during the seventh and eighth centuries was the tributary missions from Indian kingdoms to the Tang court. Chinese sources record that Indian envoys offered regular gifts of Buddhist texts and paraphernalia. An embassy from Harṣa, for example, is noted to have presented a sapling of the Bodhi Tree along with other Buddhist artifacts.[12] Similarly, in the twenty-fifth year of the Kaiyuan reign era (737), an envoy from East India offered various Buddhist, medical, and astronomical texts to Emperor Xuanzong.[13] In addition to Buddhist artifacts, Indian embassies presented exotic animals and products as gifts to the Tang rulers. A mighty bear, called "Heavenly Iron," which purportedly preyed on white elephants and lions, was, for instance, presented to the Tang court by the South Asian kingdom of Jiabiye (Kapilavastu) in 649.[14] Later, in 720, the South Indian king who sought a Chinese alliance against the invading Arabs and Tibetan forces offered a leopard, a five-colored parrot, and a day-answering crow.[15] And on two occasions, a more "useful" animal, the Indian mongoose, capable of healing snakebites, was gifted to the Tang court by the rulers of Kapiśa.[16]

The gifts of exotic animals seem to have been common in the internal and external gift-giving traditions of South and East Asian kingdoms. Chinese sources, for example, include frequent references to animals, including rhinoceroses, elephants, and gazelle, received as tribute from foreign countries.[17] Similarly, in India, Bāṇa records that on one occasion Bhāskaravarman, the king of the east Indian state of Kāmarūpa, presented Ourang-outangs, *jīvañjīvaka* birds, deer, and parrots to the kingdom of Kanauj.[18] The tribute of exotic goods and animals by Indian embassies to the Chinese court served as a symbolic act and, at the same time, was used as commercial inducement. Indeed, on one hand, these gifts symbolized the power and status of the Indian kingdom trying to establish court-to-court

relations with the Chinese. On the other hand, they provided tribute carriers access to, and perhaps preferential treatment in, the Chinese markets.

Although the Tang code prohibited foreign envoys from engaging in commercial activities,[19] many of the tribute carriers seem to have developed close ties to the merchant communities. In fact, Tang sources abound with complaints by court and provincial officials regarding the participation of foreign envoys in trading commodities at the Chinese markets. While Chinese envoys travelling to foreign countries were similarly restricted from trading goods, the Tang embassies to India were authorized to purchase specific items for the court. These embassies, as pointed out previously, are reported to have purchased a relic of the Buddha in northern India with silk fabric, arranged the transfer of sugar-making technology, and obtained other Buddhist paraphernalia.

Ji Xianlin and Sucheta Mazumdar have rightly observed that the transfer of sugar-making technology from India was undertaken at the request of the Chinese Buddhist community, especially, as suggested in Chapter 1, by the elite members of the Chinese clergy.[20] Indeed, already in the Song period, the Chinese scholars were acknowledging the role of Buddhist monks in introducing the sugar-making technology to China. This conclusion can be drawn from the following anecdote found in the twelfth-century Chinese text on sugar-making called *Tangshuang pu* (Treatise on Crystallized Sugar):

> Formerly, during the Dali reign era (766–779) of the Tang [dynasty], there was a Buddhist monk named Zou. It is not known where he came from. Riding on a white donkey, he ascended to Mount San and with the grass [there] he built himself a place to live. [Whenever he] needed salt, rice, firewood, or vegetables, he would write [it] down on paper, tie it with cash, and send them with the donkey to the marketplace. People [in the marketplace] knew that [the orders] were for Zou. [They would] take the correct amount, hang the goods on the saddle and send the donkey back [to Zou].
>
> One day, the donkey transgressed into the field of sugar-cane sprouts at the foot of the hill that belonged to Mr. Huang. [As a result,] Huang asked Zou for compensation. Zou said, "You still do not know how to plant cane sugar for [yielding

sugar] candy. [If you knew,] the profit would certainly be ten times. [If] I were to tell you, would that make up for my dues?"

[Mr. Huang] tried the method [and] finally believed [what Zou had imparted]. It was from then that the method [of making sugar candy from cane sugar] spread [into China]. The households, close to the mountain, and those facing Mount San all similarly followed [Zou's] instructions. Otherwise, they would have never been able to make [sugar candy].[21]

The story concludes with the revelation that monk Zou was an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī![22] Apparently, the author of the anecdote had blended the Tang notices on the transfer of sugar-making technology and the prophecies concerning Mañjuśrī's advent in China in order to explain the initial introduction of sugar from India and its subsequent popularity in Song China.

Chinese envoys and Buddhist pilgrims visiting India during the Tang period are also reported to have played a key role in supplying silk fabrics and garments to India. Chinese missions that arrived in India in the middle of the seventh century made it a point to visit and donate large quantities of silk along with other Chinese objects to the leading Buddhist institutions. Similarly, Chinese pilgrims visiting sacred sites in India often presented silk to Buddhist monasteries and renowned abbots. Monk Yijing, as pointed out in the previous chapter, carried large quantities of silk fabric to India as his own offerings and also on behalf of those unable to make pilgrimage to India. Buddhist teachings of accumulating merit through *dāna* (the act of giving),[23] as has been explained by Xinru Liu, formed the basis of this tradition of Chinese visitors presenting silk and other gifts to Buddhist monastic institutions in India. Indian Buddhist monasteries reciprocated with religious texts and sacred relics. In 660, for example, the Mahābodhi Monastery, as noted in Chapter 1, presented large pearls, metallic boxes, and reliquaries made of ivory and jewels to the Chinese mission led by Wang Xuance.[24]

Indeed, pilgrimage activity of Buddhist monks seems to have had significant impact on the circulation of sacred commodities between India and China. In addition to the remains of Buddha, images of famous Buddhist divinities were either carried or copied by the Chinese pilgrims for Buddhist adherents in China. Edward Schafer aptly points out that "a prime objective of Chinese pilgrims in the holy lands of the Indies was the acquisition of holy statues and

images to edify the faithful at home and adorn the rich temples of T'ang."[25] Xuanzang, for example, besides carrying about six hundred fifty-seven Buddhist texts and one hundred fifty grains of the remains of the Buddha, is reported to have brought back from India several golden, silver, and sandalwood images of the Buddha. All of these prized possessions were displayed at the Hongfu Monastery in the Tang capital Chang'an for public viewing. According to Xuanzang's biographer Huili, a huge crowd of common people and scholars turned out to view and venerate these sacred Indian objects.[26] A model of the famous Nālandā Monastery, an image of the Mahābodhi Monastery, and other Buddhist illustrations were also brought to China by the monk Huilun in the seventh century.[27]

Similarly, the Chinese envoy Wang Xuance is known to have returned to China with drawings of Buddhist divinities. One of these drawings was used as a model to make the images of the future Buddha Maitreya in Luoyang and Chang'an. Images and drawing of Buddhist figures were also transmited by South Asian monks and craftsmen coming to China. Paul Pelliot, for example, points to the presence of three Indian painters, called Śākyabuddha, Buddhakīrti, and Kumārabodhi, during the Northern Wei period (386–534) whose paintings were circulating in various Chinese monasteries.[28] Images draw by a monk-artist from Sri Lanka residing in Tang China, on the other hand, were used to build clay images of Buddhist figures housed at the Guangfu Monastery in Luoyang.[29]

Between the late seventh and the mid-eighth centuries, Sino-Indian trade in religious items seems to have received a major boost from the increased use of Buddhist paraphernalia at Mount Wutai, the frequent construction of Buddhist monuments and images during the reign of Empress Wu, and the popularity of esoteric rites in China. The exposition of Mount Wutai as an abode of Mañjuśrī and the construction work during the reign of Wu Zetian, for example, required the traditional Buddhist paraphernalia called seven jewels. The seven jewels, as noted in the previous chapter, were proffered by the Buddhist texts as essential adornments for Buddhist structures.[30] In the last quarter of the seventh century, for example, pearls and lapis lazuli are known to have been used during the building of the Celestial Hall in Luoyang, the Divine Capital. They were often used to decorate relic coffers made under the Sui and Tang dynasties. These jewels were also widely donated for the *stūpa*s sponsored by Wu Zetian and the elite members of the Tang society.[31] Moreover,

as Antonino Forte points out, the seven jewels, symbolizing the power and authority of Empress Wu, were often displayed inside office buildings during government meetings.[32]

The halls and temples of Mount Wutai, as reported by Ennin and described in other contemporary sources, were, in the same manner, lavishly adorned with seven jewels, especially gold, silver, pearls, and lapis lazuli, offered by rich pilgrims, court officials, and members of the Tang royalty.[33] The Japanese monk further notes that five esoteric images of the Buddha housed at the Jin'ge Monastery on Mount Wutai were modeled after images from Nālandā and installed there by the esoteric monk Amoghavajra.[34] Also at this Monastery, Ennin saw a rubbing of the Buddha's footprint that was obtained by Wang Xuance from India.[35]

The acceptance of esoteric doctrines by the Chinese in the early eighth century not only sustained the need for Buddhist paraphernalia, but also created a demand for high-priced gold, silver, and bronze ritual objects and images. The performance of various esoteric rites, ranging from those associated with protecting the nation to the veneration of relics (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 4), necessitated the use of ritual items such as incense burners and ewers. Before the Chinese started using locally produced gold and silver to manufacture these ritual objects, they seem to have been obtained from northern and eastern India. Several of the gold and silver objects excavated from the Famen Monastery crypt, for example, although manufactured in China in the ninth century, indicate that they were modeled after Indian prototypes. This is evidenced, for example, by the images of various Brahmanical deities (such as Gaṇeśa, Fig. 5) engraved on these objects. The same seems to be true of ewers (Skt. *kuṇḍikā*) especially designed to maintain cleanliness and ritual purity. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Francis Stewart Kershaw have shown that models for such water vessels may have been introduced into China in the late seventh century and later manufactured locally.[36] In addition, the discovery of early eighth-century esoteric Buddhist images originating in Kaśmīr in Xinjiang and Shaanxi provinces of China also testify to the fact that popularity of esoteric rites in China had expanded the list of religious images and artifacts imported from India.[37]

This is not to say, however, that the trade between the two countries during the seventh and eighth centuries was limited to Buddhist ritual items or those used for merit-making activities and esoteric rites.

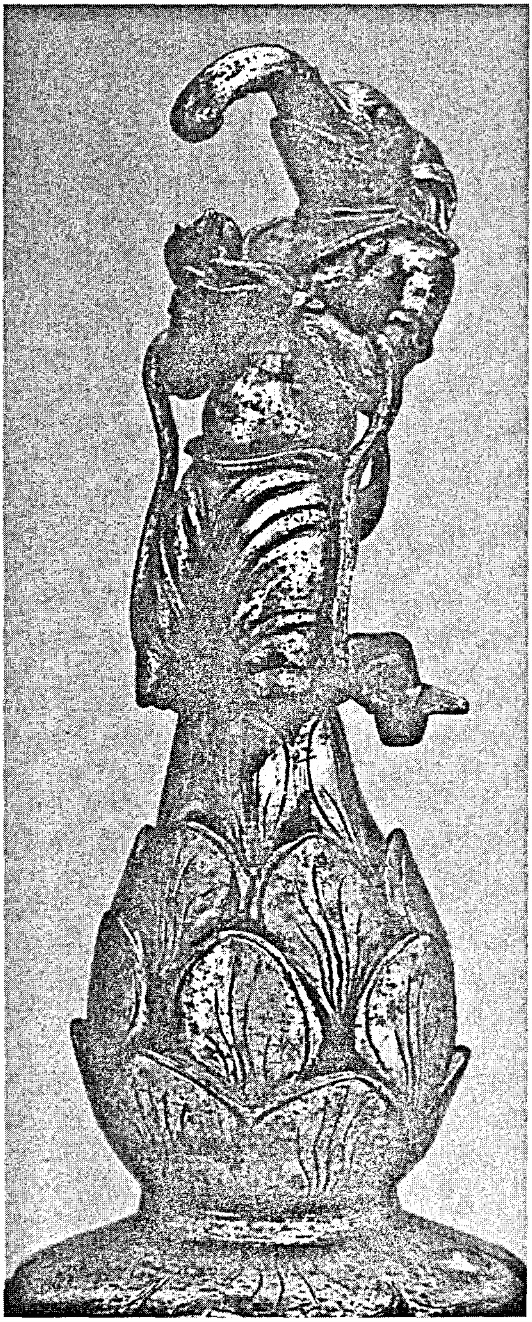


Figure 5. Gaṇeśa, Famen Monastery

Rather, the commercial significance of a vibrant Buddhist doctrine in China and the thriving Buddhist exchanges between India and China lay in the fact that they also generated trade in objects used for secular purposes. Indian spices and incense constituents imported into China are examples of such non-sacred products. Aloes-wood, benzoin, clove, saffron, black pepper, and sandal were used as ingredients by Chinese alchemists to produce cures for various types of diseases. Some of them were also applied as food condiments. Black pepper, for instance, became an important part of Chinese cuisine by the late eighth century.[38] Until the twelfth century, when Southeast Asia emerged as a major producer of the condiment, India was the leading exporter of black pepper to China.[39]

Many of the above items from India, such as pearls, jewelry, and aromatics, served dual (religious and secular) purposes in China. They were either used for religious ceremonies in Buddhist monasteries or by the elite as decorative items. Similarly, the donation of silk fabric to Indian Buddhist monasteries by Chinese envoys and pilgrims illustrates the religious application of the commodity; those worn by King Harṣa and his family, on the other hand, exemplified their secular usage.[40] Thus, while Buddhist items seem to have dominated Sino-Indian trade during the seventh and eighth centuries, non-religious commodities and objects with dual usage were also important components of commercial exchanges between India and China. Although the exact volume of Sino-Indian trade during this phase is impossible to determine, the existence of Indian merchant guilds in seventh- and eighth-century China, both along the overland and maritime routes, imply vigorous and profitable trading relations between the two countries.

Based on the discussion in this section and the previous chapters, a number of conclusions can be drawn regarding the pattern of Sino-Indian trade in the seventh and eighth centuries. First, the trade between the two regions seems to have been undertaken by tribute carriers and itinerant merchants, as well as by traders who had established their own mercantile guilds in both India and China. While the first method would fall into Polanyi's category of "reciprocity," the latter two suggest the existence of "market exchange." Since it is likely that many of the religious items, pearls and coral, for example, received as tribute were used for the construction of Buddhist monuments, the practice of "redistribution" may have been also promoted by Sino-Indian tributary trade. Indeed, the argument by

Xinru Liu that reciprocity, redistribution, and exchanges, the modes of premodern transactions outlined by Polanyi that overlapped and co-existed in Sino-Indian trade during the pre-seventh century period, seems to hold for the seventh and eighth centuries as well.

Second, single, long treks along the Silk Road or voyages over the Indian Ocean were common itineraries for merchants travelling between markets in India and China. The diaries of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims hitchhiking on mercantile ships confirm this. At the same time, however, the oasis states of Central Asia, and the kingdoms in the Southeast Asian archipelago and Myanmar were also engaged in relaying commodities between the two regions. Many of these intermediary states such as the Pyu kingdom in Myanmar, Funan in the archipelago, and Khotan in Central Asia, profited handsomely from marketing commodities that originated in India and China and also from the Sino-Indian trade traversing their territories. The example of the Pyu kingdom is perhaps most pertinent. Janice Stargardt explains that the kingdom in Myanmar not only facilitated trade between India and China by providing safe passage to the itinerant traders, but also augmented the traffic by interjecting its own local products. "By reaching out in this way," Stargardt writes, "the Pyu Kingdom achieved an administrative and military system which drew to it a share in the benefits of the land-borne as well as the sea-borne trade between India and China."[41]

Finally, the reciprocal relationship between Buddhist and merchant communities that characterized Sino-Indian relations during the first six centuries of the Common Era, continued to prosper in the seventh and eighth centuries. Merchants regularly assisted the expanding number of Buddhist monks travelling across the overland and maritime routes, met the growing demand for ritual items, and actively financed monastic institutions and proselytizing activities. Buddhist monks and monasteries, in turn, fulfilled the spiritual needs of itinerant merchants and helped create new markets for religious items. Indeed, the transfer of sugar-making technology (discussed in Chapter 1), the circulation of the relics of the Buddha (outlined in Chapter 2), and even the presence of second generation Indian Buddhists in China (such as the monk Huizhi and the son of merchant Zhu Pole) issued from this intimate association between Buddhist and merchant communities. In short, the seventh and eighth centuries were simply continuations of commercial relations of the previous six centuries, when Buddhist doctrines, artifacts, and the interdependent

network of Buddhism and long-distance trade played a dominant role in Sino-Indian commercial and cultural exchanges.

Ninth to the Mid-Tenth Centuries: The Disruptions and Transitions in Sino-Indian Commerce

A series of political upheavals, wars, and economic and urban changes transpired across the Asian continent in the ninth and tenth centuries. The urban and economic changes taking place in India and China during this phase and the expanding role of Islamic merchants in Sino-Indian maritime trade were outlined in the previous chapter. What needs to be emphasized here is the fact that this period witnessed a temporary decline in Sino-Indian commercial exchanges through the overland trade routes. This decline seems to have been prompted by armed conflicts along the Taklamakan desert and in the Yunnan-Myanmar regions. The disruption of overland trade paralleled the growing popularity and the eventual transition of Sino-Indian commerce to the maritime channels.

The collapse of Tang control of the Central Asian territories after the battle of Talas against the Arab forces in 751 eventuated in a temporary period of political instability along the Silk Route. Within a decade, the formation of a powerful Uighur empire led to the reestablishment of trading links among and through the oasis kingdoms of Central Asia. In addition, the enlisting of Sogdian traders by the Uighur court helped maintain the trade in silk and horses between Central Asia and China, which, in turn, stimulated the economy of the region.[42] By 794, however, Shazhou (present-day Dunhuang), Kucha, and Khotan, three important oasis states on the Silk Route, fell to the invading Tibetan forces.[43] The Tibetan invasion of the oasis states was followed by a series of battles among the Chinese, Tibetans, Arabs, Uighurs, and the Kyrgyz.

Internal conflict, however, destabilized and eventually triggered the collapse of the Tibetan empire by the mid-ninth century. What remained were minor Tibetan kingdoms occupying areas in the Tibetan plateau, a few oasis states in southern and eastern Taklamakan region, and parts of the Pamir mountains.[44] The Uighur empire also disintegrated because of repeated incursions by the Kyrgyz forces.[45] The demise of these two empires made commercial interactions through Central Asia arduous and less profitable. Perhaps due to this political instability in Central Asia, the Sogdian

traders, as noted in the previous chapter, became more localized and retrenched their long-distance trading activities between India and China. In fact, the fall of the Uighur empire in 840 seems to have temporarily terminated Sino-Indian trade through the Central Asian region.[46]

From the mid-ninth to the mid-tenth centuries, the woeful state of trade across Central Asia remained unchanged. The political fragmentation of the region not only hindered long-distance trade but also made it perilous for Buddhist monks to travel between India and China. It is only in the second half of the tenth century, as is evidenced by the Khotanese Saka document in the Stein Collection that Sino-Indian trade through Central Asia started to revive. The same period also witnessed the resumption of Indian tribute missions to China through Central Asia. And in 966, when the first batch of Song Buddhist clergy were allowed to visit India a large Uighur caravan, apparently on a trading mission, assisted the monks in their journey toward India. The fact that the intermediary states along the Silk Route, such as the Kocho Uighurs and the Khitans, had, by the late tenth century, attained political stability and accepted Buddhism as their state doctrine contributed to this resurrection of commercial and religious exchanges between India and China.

Traffic through the eastern India-Myanmar-China route also transpired through a similar disruption-and-revival phase in the ninth and tenth centuries. The fact that, despite urban decay in parts of Gangetic basin, trade along this route prospered until about the mid-ninth century is evidenced by the Arabic works *Al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* and *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind.* The former work, for example, records the trade between the kingdom of Kāmarūpa (noted as Qāmrūn) and southwestern China through Myanmar in the following way:

> Then comes the king of Qāmrūn (*Qāmarūb). His kingdom adjoins China. In his country there is abundant gold and rhinoceros. This animal has a single horn in his forehead, which is one cubit long and two handfuls in thickness. One usually finds inside it an image from one end of the horn to the other, so that when it is ripped open you will see the white image on a jet-black background having the shape of either a human being, an animal, fish, peacock, or some other bird. The Chinese make girdles out of it, and the price of each one ranges

from three hundred to three thousand or up to four thousand *dīnārs*.[47]

The latter work, on the other hand, contains a notice on the export of rhinoceros horns from the Pāla kingdom (recorded as "Dharma") to China.[48]

In the second half of the ninth century, however, repeated military campaigns by the Nanzhao kingdom against the Pyu state in Myanmar curtailed Sino-Indian trade across this route.[49] Moreover, Nanzhao's wars with Tang China and its incursions into Annam also had an adverse impact on the commercial exchanges between eastern India and southwestern China.[50] It was only in the middle of the tenth century, when the Nanzhao kingdom eventually collapsed, that trading activities through this route resumed.[51] In the ensuing period, horses, silk, and silver were some of the important commodities traded along this route. The consolidation of power in eleventh-century Myanmar by the Buddhist-leaning Pagan kingdom ensured the further expansion of religious and commercial exchanges between eastern India and China.

The overland route between India and China through Tibet was only marginally operational during this period. Despite political instability, there are fragmented reports of Chinese and Indian Buddhist monks travelling through Tibet in the ninth century.[52] The smaller Tibetan kingdoms interested in Buddhist doctrines may have facilitated this limited traffic between India and China. In fact, some of these Tibetan kingdoms, such as Gu-ge and sPu-hrang, gradually established major Buddhist propagation centers and created a market for Buddhist paraphernalia from both India and China. The popularity of the Mañjuśrī cult at Mount Wutai, for example, seems to have stimulated a demand for Chinese Buddhist paraphernalia in the Tibet kingdoms. As noted in Chapter 2, Tibetan envoys were especially sent to the Tang court requesting paintings of Mount Wutai. The eleventh-century drawings of Mañjuśrī housed at the Asiatic Society in Calcutta indicate that such paintings may have also entered South Asia through Tibet.[53]

As trade across the major overland route declined, the maritime channels started becoming more viable and increasingly profitable alternatives for the itinerant traders. The coastal towns in eastern India, such as Samatata in the southeastern delta of Bengal, and the ports on the Coromandel coast were actively engaged in and prospered

through maritime trade.[54] The existence of a maritime network linking China to India and extending to Sri Lanka in the eighth century is evidenced by Chinese biographies of Amoghavajra and his master Vajrabodhi. On his way to China from southern India, Vajrabodhi is reported to have passed through Sri Lanka and Śrīvijaya on a Persian ship. Before arriving at the Chinese port of Guangzhou in 719, the mercantile ship carrying Vajrabodhi anchored at various ports to trade in commodities ranging from precious jewels to local products.[55] Soon after the death of Vajrabodhi in 741, his disciple Amoghavajra is said to have embarked on a trip to Sri Lanka from China. According to various Chinese biographies of Amoghavajra, he boarded a Southeast Asian mercantile ship (Ch. Kunlun bo) at Guangzhou and reached his destination through Java. The latter country in Chinese sources is called Keling (Kaliṇga), indicating, perhaps, the presence of East Indian sea-faring merchants in Java in the eighth century.[56]

In the first half of the ninth century, the Śrīvijayans from the island of Sumatra in Southeast Asia were already exploring the possibility of expanding their own maritime trading network in eastern India by sending envoys to the Pāla court.[57] In fact, by the middle of the tenth century, coastal kingdoms capable of sustaining a large-scale commercial network had emerged at major segments of the Indian Ocean. These kingdoms, the Min in southern Fujian, Śrīvijaya in Sumatra, and the Cholas in the Coromandel Coast, participated in maritime trade by providing basic economic and commercial structure for the flow of goods and capital. The final stimulus for a vibrant maritime trade was provided by the Song government, which, after incorporating the coastal regions of China, encouraged and actively engaged in international commerce. Thus, by the second half of the tenth century, when the overland trade routes through Central Asia, Tibet, and Myanmar reopened, maritime routes along the Indian Ocean had already become the main channels for Sino-Indian trade.

Mid-Tenth to the Early Fifteenth Centuries: The Search for Profit

By the end of the first millennium, Sino-Indian relations had entered a new phase. The pursuit of commercial profits had replaced the transmission of Buddhist doctrines as the underlying stimulant to Sino-Indian exchanges. Indeed, the period from mid-tenth to the fifteenth centuries witnessed an explosion of commercial activity between India

and China through both overland and maritime routes, an increase in the volume and a diversification of commodities traded between the two countries, and an intense competition among merchant communities to profit from transshipment trade. This transformation of Sino-Indian relations from Buddhist-dominated to trade-centered is evident, as discussed below, from the triangular relations among the Chola kingdom in southern India, Śrīvijaya, and the Song court, and the expansion of the Chinese commercial network into South Asia.

The Resumption of Overland Trade

The resumption of traffic and trade between India and China through the Central Asian routes can be discerned from the tribute missions of Buddhist monks to the Song court in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Two important developments seem to have led Buddhist monks or the lay associates of Buddhist institutions to engage in long-distance commercial endeavors and contribute to the resurgence of trade in Buddhist and non-Buddhist commodities along the Central Asian routes. First, the expanding role of Buddhist institutions in economic activities in both India and China helped itinerant merchants procure funds, market religious and non-religious items, and, at times, escape the payment of taxes at custom houses. Second, the establishment of Buddhist kingdoms in Tibet and Central Asia renewed the demand for Buddhist commodities and, at the same time, facilitated the movement of merchants through their territories.

During the post-Gupta phase of Indian history, temples and monasteries, the principal owners of granted land, became important centers of consumption.[58] Buddhist monasteries in Bihar and Bengal also prospered because of the perpetual donations of precious objects, such as pearls, gold, and silver, received from the native Pāla kings and the rulers of Tibet, Myanmar, and Śrīvijaya. The Tibetan historian Tāranātha, for example, reports that during one Buddhist ceremony, the Pāla king Dharmapāla offered articles worth nine hundred thousand *tolā* of silver.[59] The Buddhist monk from the Vikramaśīla Monastery, who performed this ceremony on behalf of the king, is also said to have received gifts made of gold and other valuable jewelry. Many of these precious objects, according to Tāranātha, were either sold or exchanged for religious goods.[60]

Pilgrimage activities of Jain, Buddhist, and Brahmanical adherents also contributed to the growth of internal trade and the circulation of commodities in India. Especially between the eleventh and thir-

teenth centuries, traders are known to have actively sought to profit from marketing religious and non-religious commodities to the pilgrims. In fact, there are instances when merchant caravans and pilgrims made their journeys together, merchants seeking to profit from temple fairs and pilgrims obtaining protection and sacrificial goods from their mercantile counterparts.[61]

Revenue and donations received by monastic institutions from the pilgrims and merchants were often used for the upkeep of the monasteries and even invested in money lending and trading activities. Consequently, merchants, either as managers of endowed land and property, as suppliers of daily necessities and ritual and sacrificial goods, or as borrowers of funds became closely associated with monastic institutions. Even when general commercial activity in parts of the Gangetic basin may have declined briefly due to the decay of towns, trade in religious products throughout India, driven by religious institutions, seems to have prospered.[62] It is possible, therefore, that the Indian monks who went to Song China with the intent to trade were closely associated with or funded by Buddhist institutions in India. The items these Indian monks presented as tribute to the Song court, especially the relics of the Buddha and Buddhist texts, suggest that the Buddhist institutions in South Asia may have had some role in sponsoring their missions. It is conceivable, as was suggested in Chapter 3, that merchants associated with the monastic institutions, in order to avoid the payment of taxes, carried out commercial activities between India and Song China under a Buddhist façade. In fact, the smuggling of commodities by traders disguised as religious preachers or by the monks themselves also existed along the maritime routes and continued at least through to the Yuan dynasty. Consequently, in 1293–1294, the Mongol court ordered that Buddhist, Daoist, Nestorian, and Muslim clergy (who "in many cases were smuggling commoners who went abroad to trade and secretly sought to avoid the percentage levies") had to pay the maritime duty, "unless they were exempted by imperial decree."[63]

The trend of investing money in commercial activity by the Buddhist institutions, primarily to sustain the monastic communities, also existed in Sri Lanka[64] and was common in Song China.[65] The involvement of Chinese monasteries in various commercial ventures, for example, facilitated the trafficking of religious and non-religious items by monks or those associated with Buddhist institutions. The involvement of Chinese monasteries in money lending, auction sale,

and other commercial ventures during the Song period has been examined in detail.[66] Especially noteworthy are the temple markets (*miao shi*) organized by the monasteries during Buddhist festivals. Native and foreign merchants gathered in large numbers at such markets and traded in commodities ranging from daily necessities to luxury items that included jades, pearls, rhinoceros horns, and silk.[67] At the Xiangguo Monastery in the Song capital Kaifeng, such markets were held five times a month and even foreign envoys are known to have participated in the exchange of goods.[68] In fact, Buddhist envoys from India were often housed at the Xiangguo Monastery. One of them, a former prince of Middle India named Mañjuśrī who, as noted in the previous chapter, arrived in China in 971 and returned to India on a mercantile ship, is supposed to have accumulated so much wealth through donations that other monks reportedly became jealous of him and had him deported from China.[69] Indeed, Buddhist monasteries during the Song period not only provided a venue for those interested in trading commodities, they were also ideal sites to accumulate wealth through donations.

The most significant impetus to the trade in Buddhist items and by Buddhist merchants across the overland routes was provided by the newly established states of Liao and Xi Xia. The acceptance of Buddhist doctrines and the popularity of esoteric rites by the Khitans and Tanguts created a demand for objects that could be used to establish the presence of the Buddha and his doctrine. Inscriptions from the Tangut kingdom, for example, suggest the frequent veneration of relics during this period. One specific inscription dated to the third year of Daqing reign era (1038), already pointed out in the previous chapter, records the veneration of one hundred and fifty pure (*hao*) relics of the Buddha that had been procured from the Western Heaven (i.e., India). Among these relics were finger, hand, and parietal bones of the Buddha.[70]

Tibetan and Uighur tribes and the oasis states of Kucha and Khotan were also vigorously engaged in supplying Buddhist and non-Buddhist commodities from Central and South Asia to the Tanguts, Khitans, and the Chinese. This is clear from the growing number of tribute missions that arrived at the Song court through Central Asia between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The Uighur tribes, for example, are reported to have sent sixty-one missions carrying gifts ranging from horses and coral to Buddhist relics and texts. Eighty-two missions from the Tibetan tribes are recorded to have delivered Bud-

dhist and non-Buddhist gifts. And, the states of Kucha and Khotan dispatched twenty-three and thirty-nine tribute missions, respectively, during the same period.[71]

In fact, the Tibetan tribes, who, in the eleventh century, controlled the major trade routes linking Song China to the Central Asian region, had emerged as the leading suppliers of horses to the Chinese.[72] The large Chinese demand for cavalry horses, which at times amounted to 22,000 horses annually, and the Tibetan desire for Chinese tea prompted the establishment of a formal Sino-Tibetan horse-for-tea trade.[73]

The Song Tea and Horse Agency overseeing the transactions in horses and tea reported an annual profit of between 400,000 and 3,711,111 strings of cash from 1074 to 1115.[74] Indeed, much like the maritime trade of the Song, the Central Asian trade with the Tibetans was an important source of income for the Chinese in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the last quarter of the twelfth century, however, the overzealous local authorities and the Jurchen invasion of the tea-producing regions of Sichuan caused the collapse of the Song-Tibetan trade in horses and tea.[75] Trading in horses and tea between the Chinese and Tibetans resumed shortly after the Mongols gained control of China in the thirteenth century.

However, Song sources note that the Tibetan merchants did not only deal in horses,

> They also bring gold, silver, measures of grain, mercury, musk, soft and coarse woolens, and oxen and sheep. They exchange these products for tea, which they in turn sell to other Tibetan tribes.[76]

On the southern sector of their border, Tibetan merchants, through Nepal, were engaged in trading with India, especially the Pāla kingdom. The trade between India and Tibet in the eleventh and twelfth centuries seems to have also included horses. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* reports that large number of horses were sold to the markets in Kāmarūpa and Bengal by the Tibetans. In fact, in the market-town of Lakhnautī, in Bengal, about fifteen hundred horses were sold every morning.[77] Trade between Bihar-Bengal regions of India and Tibet was also stimulated by the Tibetan demand for Buddhist items. The frequent and extravagant construction of Buddhist monasteries and monuments during this period by the Tibetans created a need not only

for Buddhist images and sculptures, but also for masons, carpenters, painters, goldsmiths, and other artisans. These images and workers were procured from India with the payment of gold and silver.

Similarly, Indian monks were invited to Tibet after donations of large sums of gold and silver were given to the major monasteries located in Bihar and Bengal regions. When these Indian teachers arrived in Tibet, additional personal gifts, ranging from gold and silver to Chinese tea and silk, were conferred upon them.[78] And at times, the Tibetans are known to have engaged native and Indian monks to deliver tributes of horses to the Song court, evidently to bypass the Tea and Horse Agency and trade directly in the burgeoning markets of the Song capital. The commercial role of Tibetans in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests that they had emerged as the leading intermediaries in the overland trade between India and China.

Indeed, the Tibetan desire for Chinese tea and the Chinese and Indian need for Tibetan horses, and the parallel circulation of Buddhist items among India, Tibet, and the nomadic empires resulted in the formation of a distinct commercially and culturally integrated circuit in the region. While culturally the circuit seems to have been bonded through esoteric Buddhist doctrines, commercially it featured the exchange of Buddhist objects, the tributary trade of the Song court, and the trade in horses and tea. This India-Tibet-Khitan-Tangut-China network was also linked to other contemporaneous trading circuits, including the eastern India-Myanmar-southwest China circuit,[79] the Islamic circuit in western Central Asia (encompassing the states of Karakhanids, Ghaznavids, Seljuqs, the Khwarazm Shahs, and Kara Khitay),[80] and the Bay of Bengal circuit (comprising eastern India, Myanmar, the Coromandel Coast, Sri Lanka, and the Isthmus of Kra).[81] While each of these integrated circuits had its own distinctive trading patterns, modes of transportation, monetary system, and cultural underpinnings, their trading relations, either directly or through intermediaries, extended to the markets in Egypt and the Mediterranean. Together they formed an integral part of the larger Afroeurasian world system. What is important to note here is that already in the eleventh century, China, as is evidenced by tribute missions and custom revenue of the Song court, was actively engaged in both overland and maritime trade. Thus, if the linking of maritime and overland routes in China were the main criteria for completing

the "circle of world trade," as Abu-Lughod puts it, then a world system seems to have already emerged at the beginning of the second millennium, almost two centuries before her proposed date.[82]

Commercial Diplomacy across the Indian Ocean

While Buddhist monks, their lay associates, and traders from Tibet and Central Asia seem to have organized and were actively engaged in overland trading avenues linking India and China, commercial exchanges through the maritime channels between India and China were becoming increasingly complex and contentious. Śrīvijaya in Southeast Asia and the Chola kingdom in southern India, which had emerged as important emporia of Indian Ocean commerce, were actively engaged in the transshipment trade across the Indian Ocean and made frequent attempts to extend their commercial influence beyond their immediate geographical sphere. The Śrīvijayans, who had already monopolized the trade traversing through Southeast Asia to China, also tried to gain access to the ports in eastern and southern India. The Cholas, in turn, invaded Sri Lanka, launched naval raids on the ports of east India, and explored the possibility of establishing direct links to the lucrative Chinese markets by bypassing the Śrīvijayan ports. This common interest in controlling the maritime trade between the Indian ports and coastal China seems to have been the source of tensions between the Cholas and Śrīvijayans. Indeed, the best empirical evidence for the transformed nature of Sino-Indian commercial exchanges in the eleventh and twelfth centuries involves the complex triangular relations between the Cholas, Śrīvijayans, and the Song court.

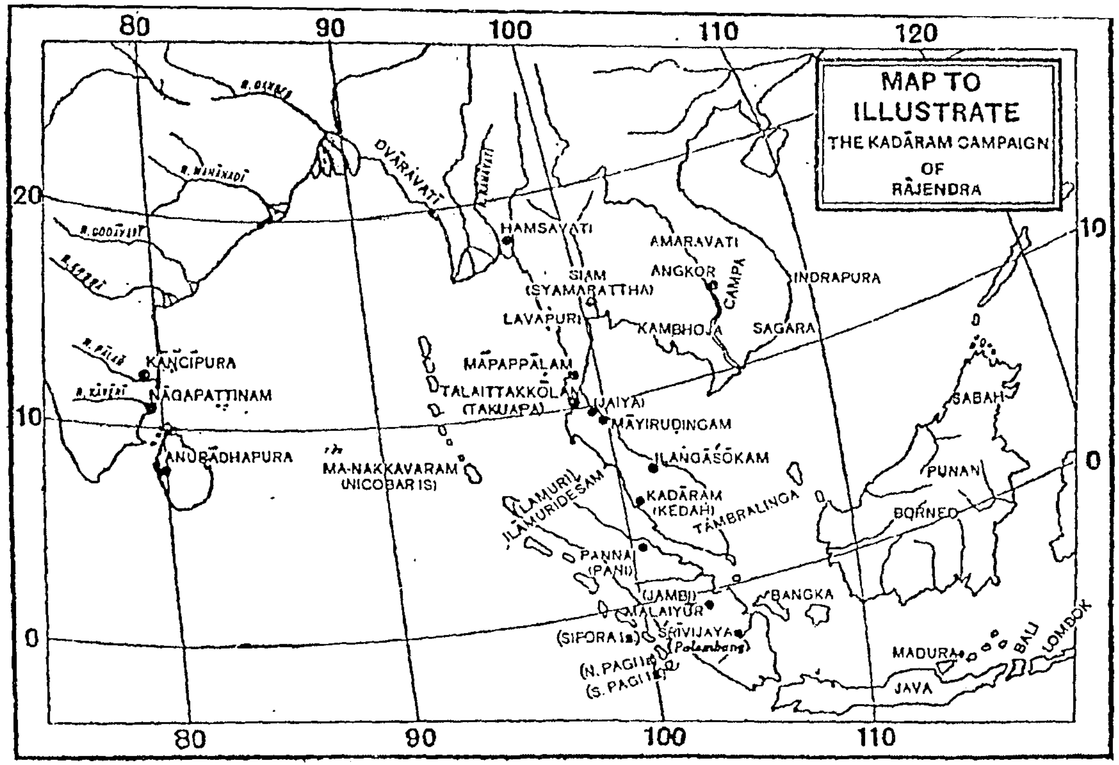
The Śrīvijayan rulers are known to have maintained diplomatic and commercial contacts with Indian kingdoms at least since the ninth century through investment in religious institutions. In 860, for example, the Śrīvijayan King Mahāraja Bālaputradeva funded the construction of Buddhist monasteries in the Pāla kingdom in eastern India.[83] In 1005, the Śrīvijayans are reported to have financed a Buddhist monastery at the Chola port of Nāgapaṭṭinam. Later, between 1018 and 1019, they donated Chinese gold (*cīnakkanakam*) to the same monastery in Nāgapaṭṭiṇam. Merra Abraham has observed that these Śrīvijayan investments "may have been intended as gestures preliminary to arriving at agreements on commercial exchange."[84] If true, then Śrīvijaya's agreements with the Chola did not last for too long.

In 1025, the Chola King Rājēndra launched punitive naval attacks on several Śrīvijayan ports, including the flourishing port cities of Kedah and Takuapa.[85] One Tamil inscription lists various ports sacked and leaders defeated (for the ports mentioned in the inscription, see Map 11) and reports that the Chola king,

> having dispatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sanāma-vijayōttunga-varman, the king of Kaḍāram,[86] together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasure, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidyādharatōraṇa at the "war-gate" of his extensive city; Śri Vijaya with the "jewelled wicket-gate" adorned with great splendur and the "gate of large jewels"; Paṇṇai with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient Malaiyūr with the strong mountain for its rampart; Māyiruḍingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; Ilaṇgāśōka (i.e., Lankāśōka) undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māpappāḷam having abundant (deep) water as defense; Mēviḷimbangam having fine walls as defense; Vaḷaippandūru having Viḷappandūru (?); Talaittakkōlam praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuridēśam, whose fierce strength rose in war; Mānakkavāram, in whose extensive flower gardens honey was collecting; and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea.[87]

A second offensive on the Southeast Asian ports by the Cholas is reported to have been undertaken by King Kulōttuṇga I (r. 1070–1118) in the 1070s.[88]

Two distinct arguments have been put forth to explain the reasons for the Chola naval raids on the Southeast Asian ports. Most scholars believe that the offensive was prompted by the Śrīvijayan encroachment of the maritime channels in Southeast Asia that hindered direct commercial links between Chola and China.[89] George Spencer, on the other hand, has proposed that "a more likely possibility is that as the Chōḷas gradually widened their diplomatic horizons, coming into contact with China and various kingdoms of Southeast Asia, they were tempted to intervene in local situations that they sought to exploit to their own advantage."[90] While the Chola kings, especially Rājarāja and Rājēndra, are reported to have led



Map 11. The Ports Raided by the Chola Navy in 1025. After Nilakanta Sastri, 1975.

ambitious military expeditions to other parts of India and into Sri Lanka, it is unlikely that the mere temptation of Southeast Asian ports would have provoked these expensive and time-consuming naval raids. In fact, the examination of hitherto unexplored Chinese sources and reinterpretations of others presented below strengthens the commercial-motive theory shared by a majority of scholars.

Chinese sources report four tributary missions from the Chola kingdom to the Song court between 1015 and 1077. These embassies offered large quantities of elephant tusks, frankincense, pearls, rose water, rhinoceros horns, putchuk, barus camphor, and small quantities of brocade, opaque glass, and plumflower as "tribute" to the Song rulers.[91] Not only were these items high on the list of Chinese imports, some of them were licensed restricted commodities, while others attracted heavy custom duties. In addition, most of these goods, except pearls and elephant tusks, were not of Indian origin. Frankincense and rose water, for example, are known to have been imported by the south Indian kingdom from Middle Eastern markets. In short, the tribute offered by the Chola missions constituted commercial items meant for Chinese markets.

From the list of tribute presented by the Chola embassies, and the fact that at least two of these missions involved Muslim traders (see Chapter 4), one can easily infer that the missions that traveled to China were undertaken for commercial reasons. Similar to their Arab counterparts, the Chola envoys invariably intended to profit from the commercialized tribute system of the Song court (also explained in Chapter 4). It is also possible that the Chola missions, by circumventing the Southeast Asian intermediaries, planned to establish a direct and long-term trading relationship with the Chinese, especially to profit from the increasing Chinese demand for black pepper.[92]

A direct commercial link between the Cholas and the Chinese would have affected the commercial interests of the Śrīvijayans. Because of their geographical location, the Tamil merchant guilds could have easily monopolized the supply of South Asian black pepper as well as commodities from the Middle East destined for the Song markets. Similarly, the direct supply of Chinese commodities to the Jewish and Arab merchant guilds at the Indian ports by Chola merchants also endangered Śrīvijayan profits. In other words, the entry of Chola into the South China Sea may have been perceived

by the Śrīvijayans as a major threat to their transshipment trade to and from the Chinese markets.[93] As a result, the Southeast Asian kingdom took prudent steps to prevent the establishment of a direct Chola-Chinese trading relation, or at least disrupt one that would have provided favorable trading terms to merchant guilds from the south Indian coast. This intrusion by Śrīvijayans is evident in a statement made by a Chinese official in 1106. In response to Emperor Huizong's (r. 1101–1125) order to receive the envoys from Pagan (in Myanmar) in accordance to the status given to the Chola embassies, the President of the Council of Rites objected by saying,

> The Chola [Kingdom] is subject to Śrīvijaya, this is why during the Xining reign period (1068–1077), we wrote to its ruler on a coarse paper with an envelope of plain stuff. Pagan, on the other hand, is a great kingdom and should not be perceived as a small tributary state. [It] deserves a comparable status [given to] Arab, Jiaozhi (present-day Vietnam), and other [similar] states. . . .[94]

This inaccurate information regarding Śrīvijayan subjugation of the Cholas seems to have been supplied to the Chinese even before the first embassy from the South Indian kingdom reached the Song court in 1015. We are told in Song sources that when the first Chola embassy arrived in China, a status similar in rank to that of Kucha, a tributary state of China in Central Asia, was bestowed upon the Indian kingdom. The status of a specific foreign country was usually fixed on the basis of its military strength, which then determined the type of reception embassies received when they arrived in China. Commercially, the bestowal of higher status helped native merchants obtain favorable trading rights at the Chinese ports. Thus, the designation of Chola as the same as that of Kucha meant that the Song court not only perceived the Cholas as a militarily weak state that was subjugated by the Śrīvijayan ruler, but traders from South India may have also received limited access to the Chinese markets and trading rights in China compared to their Southeast Asian counterparts.[95] It is thus likely that the Śrīvijayans, in order to continue their monopoly of China trade, had furnished the erroneous reports regarding Chola's military strength to the Song court.[96]

In addition to their diplomatic maneuvering, Chinese sources report that Śrīvijaya exercised its dominance in the straits of Mellaca

by requiring that all trading ships that sailed toward the Chinese coast stop first and pay taxes at its ports. The Song work *Zhu fan zhi* (Records of the Barbarous People) notes that ships that failed to do so were attacked and destroyed by the Śrīvijayan navy.[97] If true, then, both the Śrīvijayan diplomatic and military attempts to block direct maritime links between Indian ports and the Song markets may have been the principal factors for the Chola naval raids in 1025 and the 1070s. Although it has been suggested that the Śrīvijayan dominance over the maritime trade with the Chinese declined after the Chola raids, the comment by the Chinese official cited above suggests that the Song court continued to perceive the Cholas as a vassal state of the Śrīvijayans. In fact, it will be clear from the discussion below that the Śrīvijayan traders were able to maintain their commercial status by concealing the Chola naval triumph from the Song authorities.

The last Chola embassy to the Song court in 1077 is confusingly attributed to both the south Indian kingdom and the Śrīvijayans.[98] The section on the Chola kingdom in the *Song shi* reports that this embassy was sent by the Chola ruler Dihuajialuo (Divakara?). The embassy, which had an imperial audience on the seventh day of the sixth lunar month of the tenth year of Xining period (June 26, 1077), was led by the Chief Envoy Qiluoluo, Vice-Envoy Nanbeipada, and Staff Matuhualuo.[99] The same source, in fact in the same chapter but under the sub-section on Śrīvijaya, had previously noted that Dihuajialuo was a "Great Chieftain" of the Southeast Asian kingdom.[100] Fortunately, a contemporary inscription found at a Daoist temple in Guangzhou has helped decipher the real nationality of Dihuajialuo and the envoys who visited the Song court as representatives of both the Śrīvijayan and Cholan kingdoms. The inscription, written in Chinese, and translated into English by Tan Yeok Seong, reads,

> During the reign of Chih Ping (Zhiping) (1064–1067), the Lord of the Land of San Fo Tsi (Sanfoqi, i.e., Śrīvijaya), the Paramount Chief Ti Hao Ka lo (Dihuajialuo), ordered one of his clansmen Chih Lo Lo (Zhiluoluo) to this city (i.e., Guangzhou). Chih Lo Lo saw the temple in ruins, its foundation being buried in wilderness. He then returned home and reported the matter to the Lord. Since then Ti Hua Ka lo began to have inclinations for Tao (Dao). . . . Presently, a Judge by the name of Ma Tu Hua Lo (Matuhualuo), a man of moral virtue, came to pay tribute to the Court. Permission was asked to accept his

> donations to construct the Hall of San Ching (Sanjing) in the Imperial Library.[101]

Tan suggests that Dihuajialuo in this inscription and in the *Song shi* refer to the Chola king Kulōttuṇga,[102] who, according to him, ruled both the Cholan and Śrīvijayan kingdoms. Dihuajialuo, Tan writes, "was holding a very high position in the conquered country. *Sri Vijaya,* which was overrun by King Virarājndra (i.e., Rājēndra Deva Kullottunga) before 1067 A.D. He went home and ascended the Cōḷa throne in 1077 A.D. He had a long and prosperous reign until 1119 A.D."[103]

George Spencer rejects Tan's conclusion and instead offers the possibility of a marital alliance between the Cholas and Śrīvijayans in order to explain the confusing Chinese records. He writes, "It was after all, very common for the Chōḷas to establish such alliances with both defeated adversaries and potential rivals, so a marriage alliance with the kings of Śrīvijaya, as a result of Rājēndra's conquest [in 1025] or even under other circumstances, would not have been out of character."[104] To prove his point, Spencer refers to records on the genealogy of fifteenth-century Mayalan rulers preserved in the Malay annals *Sejarah Melaya.* The record states that the Indian conqueror Raha Shulan (Rājēndra I, according to Spencer), after the successful naval raid of 1025, married Onang Kiu, the daughter of the defeated King Chulin. The daughter of Onang Kiu and Shulan later married Rāja Iskandar, the ancestor of Malacca sultans. Their son, Rāja Chulan, according to the Malay annals, succeeded the Chola throne in India.

After providing this story in *Sejarah Melaya,* however, even Spencer appears reluctant to accept the marriage-alliance theory. He concludes by saying, "But since in the *Sejarah Melayu*'s version of events too few generations are allowed between the time of Raja Shulen (Rājēndra) in the eleventh century, and the founding of Singapore by Sri Tri Buana in the fourteenth, that account must be highly condensed at best. Perhaps the Chōḷa connection was merely an inspired fiction."[105]

Both these analyses about the puzzling Song records concerning the 1077 mission and the Guangzhou inscription prove inadequate. An alternative, and much simpler explanation, seems to lie in the interests of Śrīvijayan traders in preserving their commercial status with the Chinese. Dihuajialuo was probably no more than a local landlord

(as the Chinese inscription suggests [Ch. *dizhu*="landlord"]) trying to maintain commercial relations with the Chinese after the Chola raids on Southeast Asian ports. The reason some Song sources erroneously record him to be the ruler of the Chola kingdom is simply because the tribute carriers, who were themselves all natives of Śrīvijaya and at least one of them (i.e., Qiluoluo) a clansman of Dihuajialuo, furnished inaccurate information to the Chinese authorities. Their goal was not to present the Chola kingdom as a leading maritime state in the Indian Ocean, but to reinforce the Chinese view that Śrīvijaya was a militarily powerful state that had vanquished the South Indian kingdom and which deserved to maintain its trading privileges at the Chinese ports. Indeed, the statement by the Chinese official in 1106 regarding the subjugation of Chola by the Śrīvijaya seems to indicate that Dihuajialuo and his envoys succeeded in preserving this false perception.[106]

In reality, however, the island of Sumatra was gradually losing its dominance over the maritime trade. By the second half of the eleventh century, merchants from Myanmar had taken control of the Isthmus of Kra, the island of Java had emerged as an alternate trading center in Southeast Asia, and a Tamil guild was eventually established in the Chinese port-city of Quanzhou. The excavation of a Tamil inscription and about two hundred idols of Brahmanical gods and goddesses from the Chinese port reveals the presence of a south Indian merchant guild that had successfully established a direct trading link with the Chinese despite the obstacles imposed by the Śrīvijayans. Although the exact founding date of the Tamil guild at Quanzhou is unclear, it seems to have continued to flourish even after the fall of the Song dynasty in 1279.

Trading Diasporas and The Expansion of Commercial Ties

The Italian traveler Marco Polo provides important insights into the intensity of the restructured commercial relations between India and China under the Mongols in the late thirteenth century. Writing about the Chinese port city of Quanzhou (Çaiton/Zayton), he notes,

> At this city is the port of Çaiton on the Ocean sea, to which all the ships from Indie come with many goods and dear, and namely with many precious stones of great value and with many pearls both large and good. . . . And moreover I tell you that the great Kaan receives in this port and in this town very great

> duty, because I make you know that all the merchants [in the] ships which come from Indie give of all goods, and of all stones and pearls they give, ten per cent, that is the tenth part of everything. The ships take for their hire, that is the freight, 30 per cent of small goods, & of pepper they take 44 per cent, and of lign aloe and of sandalwood and of other spices and large goods they take 40 per cent. So that between the freight and the great Kaan's duty the merchants really give the half of all that they bring to this port. And yet of that half which remains to them they make so great profits that every hour they wish to return there with other goods.[107]

A Tamil inscription found at the same port confirms Marco Polo's report about the presence of traders from India in thirteenth-century China. In fact, the Tamil inscription, along with the remains of Brahmanical statues and pillars excavated at the city, indicate the establishment of at least one Tamil trading diaspora in Song-Yuan China.

While Indian merchants and guilds were also present in seventh-century China, the Tamil inscription and the Brahmanical artifacts are as yet the most concrete evidence for the existence of an Indian trading diaspora in China. The Tamil inscription, translated by T. N. Subramaniam, reads,

> Obesisance to Hara (Śiva). Let there be prosperity! On the day (having) the Chitrā (asterism) in the month of Chittirai of the Śaka year 1203 (April 1281), the Tavachchakkaravatigaḷ *alias* Sambandhap-perumāḷ caused, in accordance with the *firman* of Chekachai-Khān, to be graciously installed the God Uḍaiyār Tirukkadalīśvaram Uḍaiya-nāyiṉār, for the welfare of the illustrious body of the illustrious Chekachai-Khān.[108]

This notice of the installation of an idol of god Śiva with the blessing ("*firman*," lit. order) of the Mongol king "Chekachai-Khān," identified as either Kublai Khan or his son Jurji,[109] is followed by twelve, and at least one missing, Chinese graphs. A tentative translation of the Chinese line is as follows:

> Luhezhili, [who was] versed [in Chinese language] (alternatively, "[after] gaining access [to China]"), compiled the *Sūtra*

> of Torching the Mountain Without Assistance (i.e., self-enlightenment?).[110]

The Chinese graphs seem to have no relevance to the Tamil inscription. In fact, the Chinese sentence, which seems Buddhist in nature, may have been added to the stone tablet at a later date. Indeed, like the many of the Brahmanical fragments discovered in Quanzhou, this bilingual inscription may have been initially used in the South Indian temple, probably built by the Tamil residents, and later removed to Buddhist monasteries around the city.

John Guy has meticulously analyzed the Brahmanical motifs found in Quanzhou and linked them to those from the Chola hinterland. His examination confirms that a Brahmanical temple, patterned on the south Indian Chola style, existed in China during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[111] However, the specific origins of a Tamil merchant guild, members of which worshiped at the site, remain uncertain. Chinese sources indicate that a "Stone Bamboo Shoot" (*shixun*), purported to be the Śiva liṇga still standing in the city, was severed in half in 1011 and rebuilt in the fifteenth century.[112] This would suggest that the temple, and hence the guild, may have been functioning at the Chinese port from the eleventh until the fifteenth century. Although entirely speculative, it is possible that the first residents of the Tamil guild in Quanzhou, who may have numbered a few hundreds, migrated from Sumatra in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries due to the gradual disintegration of the Śrīvijayan kingdom. The similarities between the Brahmanical iconography of Quanzhou and the temples found in Southeast Asian port cities, in addition to comparable Tamil-language tablets discovered from the latter region, give some credence to this speculation.[113]

The evidence pertaining to the cultural impact of Tamil residents and Brahmanical teachings on the local populace is precarious. Analogies, for example, can be drawn between the Brahmanical images of Hanumāna (Fig. 6) found in Quanzhou and the later well-known figure of the monkey Sun Wukong in the Ming-novel *Journey to the West*.[114] Moreover, the use of Tamil (Grantha) script by Zheng Qiao (1104–1162), the compiler of the twelfth-century encyclopaedia *Tong zhi* (Comprehensive History of Institutions) and a native of the nearby Putian region, in his discussion of the Indian/Sanskrit writing system indicates some interaction between the south Indian traders and the local population.[115] Zheng Qiao, however, may have



Figure 6. Hanumāna, Quanzhou

been using the Grantha script not because he was apprised of the South Indian language, but because he had confused it with Brahmī script, usually used for writing Sanskrit.[116] This would suggest that the natives of Quanzhou who encountered the Tamil residents and saw the Brahmanical iconography perceived them to be part of esoteric Buddhist teachings. The later use of Brahmanical images from the Quanzhou temple to renovate Buddhist monasteries in the region seems to confirm this misconception among the Chinese residents.[117]

While it is evident that the Tamil traders arrived at Quanzhou in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, Chinese guilds at Indian ports may not have been established until the second half of the thirteenth century. Reports by Arab travelers have conveyed the incorrect impression that Chinese trading ships were sailing to Indian ports and beyond as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although it is true, as Jung-Pang Lo has convincingly demonstrated, that the shipbuilding technology and maritime activities of the Chinese had expanded tremendously during the Song period,[118] there is little evidence to show that either Chinese ships or merchants frequented Indian ports in substantial numbers before the mid-thirteenth century.

The earliest indication of the presence of Chinese merchants in coastal India comes from the fourteenth-century Chinese work *Daoyi zhi lüe* (Brief Record of the Barbarian Islands). Written by the Yuan scholar Wang Dayuan (ca. 1311–?), the *Daoyi zhi lüe* is a key source detailing China's contacts and trade with the Indian Ocean countries in the years from the inception of the Yuan dynasty in 1279 to about 1350.[119] Wang Dayuan reports a high earthen pagoda encircled by wood and brick at a site called Badan. According to Wang, a Chinese inscription on the pagoda noted that "the construction was completed in the eighth lunar month of the third year of the Xianheng reign era (August-September 1268)."[120] It has been suggested that Badan in Wang's report indicates Nāgapaṭṭinam in the Coromandel coast.[121] If true, then this would indicate that Chinese traders not only frequented the Chola port, but were also settling in the Coromandel coast of India sometime in the second half of the thirteenth century.

In fact, an intimate political and commercial relationship seems to have developed between the Yuan court and the Ma'bar region in the southern Coromandel coast. The *Yuan shi* (History of the Yuan [Dynasty]) not only reports of several tribute missions from Ma'bar (which was originally under the control of the Pāṇḍya kingdom but

in 1325/26 came under Muslim domination) to the Chinese court,[122] but mentions the visits of Yuan officials to the region as well. Already in 1279, we find a report of an envoy from Ma'bar, along with an embassy from Annam, presenting a live elephant and a rhinoceros to the Mongol emperor Kubali Khan. This was followed by a second embassy from Ma'bar to the Yuan court in 1280. In response, the Mongol dispatched their own delegation headed by Yang Tingbi to Ma'bar and adjacent kingdoms.[123]

One of the most noteworthy events in the interactions between Ma'bar and the Yuan court was the apparent asylum that Boali/Buali (Abu Ali?), a son of wealthy nobleman in Ma'bar,[124] sought in China because of a political strife within the South Indian kingdom. Abu Ali reportedly was granted asylum by the Yuan court and given a grand reception when he arrived in China in 1291. Abu Ali died in 1299 and was subsequently buried in Quanzhou.[125] Despite the asylum granted to Abu Ali, tributary relations between the Chinese court and the Ma'bar region, especially the port of Kāyal, continued until the mid-fifteenth century.[126]

Wang Dayuan's work also suggests that Chinese merchants were frequenting the coastal towns of southwestern India, including Calicut and Cochin during the Yuan period.[127] In addition, the *Yuan shi* reports of periodic court-to-court exchanges between China and the Malabar coast in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[128] It was on this coast that the fourteenth-century Arab traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa witnessed the presence of large Chinese junks and flourishing trade extending from northern Africa to coastal China. In fact, it may be pertinent here to insert Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's notice about the Chinese dominance of the trade route linking Calicut to the South China Sea. Pointing out that Calicut was then one of the "chief" ports of the Malabar coast, frequented by traders from China, Sumatra, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Yemen, and the Fars, Baṭṭūṭa writes:

> We stopped in the port of Cálicút, in which there were at the time thirteen Chinese vessels, and disembarked. Every one of us was lodged in a house and we stayed there three months as the guests of the infidel, awaiting the season of the voyage to China. On the Sea of China travelling is done in Chinese ships only, so we shall describe their arrangements.
>
> The Chinese vessels are of three kinds; large ships called *chunks*, middle-sized ones called *zaws* [dhows], and small ones

> called *kakams*. The large ships have anything from twelve down to three sails, which are made of bamboo rods plaited like mats. They are never lowered, but turned according to the direction of the wind; at anchor they are left floating in the wind. A ship carries a complement of a thousand men, six hundred of whom are sailors and four hundred men-at-arms, including archers, men with shields and arbalists, who throw naptha. Each large vessel is accompanied by three smaller ones, the "half," the "third," and the "quarter." These vessels are built only in the towns of Zaytún (i.e., Quanzhou) and Sín-Kalán [Canton]. The vessel has four decks and contains rooms, cabins, and saloons for merchants; a cabin has chambers and a lavatory, and can be locked by its occupant, who takes along with him slave girls and wives. . . . Some of the Chinese own large numbers of ships on which their factors are sent to foreign countries. There is no people in the world wealthier than the Chinese.[129]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's record, when collated with the Yuan and Ming notices about Chinese commercial activity in Calicut, indicates that the Chinese mercantile network at the Malabar coast flourished from the late thirteenth through to the fifteenth centuries.[130] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also indicates the existence of vibrant overland and maritime trading exchanges between the merchants from the Sultanates of Delhi and Bengal and China.[131]

Thus, by the early fifteenth century, when Admiral Zheng He made his famous voyages to the Indian Ocean and the African ports, the Indian coasts were profuse with Chinese ships and merchants extensively engaged in trading products such as cotton, aromatics, spices, pearls, and porcelain. Ma Huan (1380?–1460?), who made three voyages to South Asia (two under Zheng He and one with the eunuch Hong Bao),[132] gives the following account of the trading activities of one of the Chinese embassies visiting Calicut:

> If a treasure-ship (i.e., ship from the Ming court) goes there (i.e., Calicut), it is left entirely to the two men (i.e., the Muslim chiefs of the south Indian kingdom) to oversee the buying and selling [of commodities]. The king sends the chiefs along with a *zhedi Weinaji* (Waligi Chitty= Chetty merchant) to keep account [of the trade] in the official bureau. A broker comes and joins them, [and] discusses the choice of a certain date for fixing

> prices with the high official leading the ship. When that day arrives, they first of all take the silk embroideries and the openwork silks, and other such goods which have been brought there, and discuss the price of them one by one; [and] when [the price] has been fixed, they write out an agreement stating the amount of the price; [this agreement] is retained by these persons. . . .
>
> After that, the Chetty merchant and the men of wealth then come bringing precious stones, pearls, corals, and other such things, so that they may be examined and the price discussed; [this] cannot be settled in a day; [if done] quickly, [it takes] one month; [if done] slowly, [it takes] two or three months.[133]

The unfolding of commercial exchanges between India and China from the late fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century merit a detailed study of its own. It can only be concluded here that by the early fifteenth century, the Chinese merchants, who in the thirteenth century displaced the Arab traders as the leading mercantile group in the Southeast Asia-China sector, had extended their dominance to the Indian ports. The intensive trading relations between India and China during the Yuan and Ming periods, in which Buddhist doctrines and items had no discernable imputes, illustrate the successful restructuring of Sino-Indian trade from Buddhist-dominated to market-centered exchanges.

This restructuring of Sino-Indian trade, as demonstrated in this and the previous chapters, began sometime in the late ninth century with the decline of commerce along the major overland routes linking India and China. The establishment of an Islamic trading network along the Indian Ocean and the development of shipbuilding and navigational techniques made maritime trade between the two countries a more viable alternative and also immensely profitable. At the same time, the emergence of China as a legitimate Buddhist realm, the weakening Chinese demand for Buddhist paraphernalia originating in India, and the growing demand for non-luxury bulk products transformed the nature of commodities traded between the two regions.

While Buddhist products from India still circulated along the routes connecting eastern India to Tibet, Khitan, and the Tangut kingdoms, the trade in non-religious products through the maritime

channels grew in volume and intensity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During this period, spices, aromatics, textiles, and goods either originating from or destined for markets in a third country replaced the traditional trade in Buddhist-related goods and Chinese silk as the major components of Sino-Indian trade. Finally, in the subsequent two or three centuries, Chinese diaspora communities were set up in the coastal regions of India and the ships operating between the two countries were mostly Chinese. These ships were laden with non-Buddhist luxury and non-luxury products. Those who frequented the two countries were now mostly commercial specialists in search of profit and few, in any, adherents of the Buddhist doctrine.

CONCLUSION

From Buddhism to Commerce: The Realignment and Its Implications

The analysis of Sino-Indian relations from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries reveals dramatic changes in the nature and structure of Buddhist and commercial exchanges between India and China. In the seventh and eighth centuries Buddhist doctrines and institutions, as in the previous six centuries, sustained Sino-Indian cultural, diplomatic, and commercial exchanges. In addition, the interdependent network of long-distance trade and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China continued to flourish during this period. In fact, the nexus between the spread of Buddhist doctrines and Sino-Indian trade was enlarged and strengthened because of the frequent political use of Buddhist doctrines and paraphernalia by the Sui and Tang rulers.

The ninth and tenth centuries, however, witnessed a gradual but potent unraveling of this characteristic intertwined network of religious transmission and commercial activity that had been stimulating Sino-Indian interactions. While the elimination of the borderland complex among the Chinese Buddhist clergy and the growth of indigenous Buddhist schools dramatically retrenched the need for doctrinal input from India (see Chapter 2), the political upheavals along the overland routes and the Islamization of maritime channels altered the Buddhist-centered trading exchanges between India and China (see Chapters 4 and 5). What emerged from this period of restructuring was a commerce-dominated Sino-Indian relationship. Although Buddhist exchanges and translation of Indic texts continued in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, this new trade-centered relationship was devoid of the earlier process in which Buddhist ideas inspired the flow of cultural elements and commercial items

between the two countries. In other words, the interdependent network of long-distance trade and the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China had disintegrated by the end of the first millennium.

The main stimulant to Sino-Indian interactions in the first four centuries of the second millennium was, instead, the growing interest in international commerce shared by Indian and Chinese rulers. Indeed, the linking of local economy to external trade in the two countries, the vibrant Islamic trading diasporas across the Indian Ocean kingdoms, and the emergence of a well-organized and large-scale trading network extending from coastal China to the ports of the Mediterranean Sea facilitated the successful transition of Sino-Indian relations from Buddhist-dominated to trade-centered exchanges. Markets and profits now dictated the movement of people, the exchange of envoys, and the transaction of commodities between the two regions. The intensity of commercial exchanges between India and China during the first half of second millennium is manifested in the establishment of new trading diasporas, the military efforts of the Cholas to establish direct trading links with the Song markets, and the voyages of Chinese mercantile ships to the Indian ports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The next few pages will summarize the unraveling of Buddhist ties as well as the enlarged role of commerce in Sino-Indian relations outlined in the preceding chapters and explain their short- and long-term implications.

The Unraveling of Buddhist Ties

The contribution of itinerant merchants in the early phase of Sino-Indian interactions was immense. Not only did they help initiate direct communications between the central cultural areas of India and China, they also paved the way for the transmission of Buddhist doctrines from India to China. In the course of time, the spread of Buddhism from India through the mercantile channels led to the formation of a unique and integrated Buddhist network that extended from Iran to the cities and towns of Korea and Japan. This network was rooted in the interdependence between urbanized towns, long-distance trade, and the spread of Buddhist theology. It facilitated the establishment of inter-regional and inter-cultural links, which, in turn, sustained the movement of missionaries, merchants, commodities, and cultural artifacts. And, at the same time, it fostered the

ties between diverse groups of people, linguistic groups, and cultural zones, and between nomadic tribes, sedentary societies, and maritime empires.

From the perspective of Sino-Indian interactions, the integration of Asian states along the Indian Ocean and the Silk Road through Buddhism proved to be of enormous significance. Buddhist texts, monks, and paraphernalia transpired through these conduits and entered China, triggering the process of what Jerry H. Bentley calls, "social conversion."[1] Bentley explains that by the term "social conversion" he signifies "a process by which pre-modern peoples adopted or adapted foreign cultural traditions." He employs it in reference not "to an individual's spiritual or psychological experience but, rather, to the broader process that resulted in the transformation of whole societies."[2] Bentley further proposes that large-scale social conversions were patterned by "conversion through voluntary association; conversion induced by political, social, or economic pressure; and conversion by assimilation."[3] Indeed, the Buddhist transformation of the Chinese cultural landscape, their notion about postmortem life, and worldview, as delineated in Chapters 1 and 2, illustrates the social conversion of Chinese society induced by their voluntary association with South, Central, and Southeast Asian monks and merchants.

Underlying this voluntary social conversion of the Chinese society was another dynamic process of premodern cross-cultural encounters that has also been aptly elucidated by Bentley. "Syncretism," Bentley writes, "facilitated the large-scale conversion of whole societies to new cultural traditions. Syncretism blended elements from different cultural traditions in such a way that a foreign tradition could become intelligible, meaning-full, and even attractive in a land far from its origin."[4] The amalgamated rites and rituals associated with relic veneration, the unveiling of Mount Wutai as the abode of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, and the here/now versions of the Maitreya prophecies (discussed in Chapter 2) are examples of how Indic concepts were syncretized by the Chinese Buddhist clergy for dissemination in Chinese society. The syncretism of Indic ideas by the Chinese proved important not only for the establishment of Buddhist institutions in China, but also facilitated the spread of the doctrine to Korea and Japan, and in the subsequent periods to the Khitan and Tangut kingdoms. In fact, some of the sinicized Buddhist concepts, such as the techniques for extending lifespan and the cult of

Mañjuśrī, seem to have been transmitted back to India by way of Central Asia, Tibet, and Myanmar (see Chapters 1 and 2).

In the second half of the seventh century, when Buddhist institutions in India were devoid of support from a strong state or ruler, China, under Empress Wu Zetian, surfaced as an alternate center of the Buddhist world. Wu Zetian's propagation of Buddhist concepts and prophecies, in addition to the exposition of Mount Wutai as the abode of Mañjuśrī, enticed Buddhist clergy from all parts of Asia to Tang China. Similarly, the rapid development of indigenous Buddhist schools and practices transformed Chinese Buddhism into a religion that was more amenable to the Chinese environment and addressed the needs of the Chinese clergy and laity. Thus, between the mid-ninth and mid-tenth centuries, when Sino-Indian Buddhist exchanges were drastically reduced due to political upheavals along the traditional overland routes linking India and China, Buddhist institutions in China were able to sustain on their own. In fact, when Buddhist intercourse between India and China resumed in the latter half of the tenth century, the Chinese clergy had little interest in the new Indic doctrines and transmitters. The failure of Buddhist translations undertaken under the Song dynasty, as argued in Chapter 3, makes it evident that the Chinese Buddhist community had decided to plot its own course in the subsequent centuries. "Scholastic Buddhism" did not end in Song China, as some have suggested, due to the severing of links between India and China in the eleventh century.[5] Rather, input from India, the translation and study of Indic texts, the scholastic interpretation of Indic doctrines, or even the presence of Indian monks were no longer essential for the development of Buddhist institutions in China.

Indeed, by the tenth century, three distinct cores had emerged in the Buddhist world: (1) the Bihar-Bengal region in eastern India, whence esoteric doctrines were transmitted to Tibet and Central Asia; (2) Sri Lanka, whence Theravadin teachings were disseminated to Myanmar and the island states of Southeast Asia; and (3) China, which became the doctrinal source for Buddhist institutions in Korea, Japan, and the steppe region. Although the Buddhist sites in eastern India continued to attract foreign pilgrims, and even though the export of the relics of the Buddha from India persisted (see Chapters 3 and 4), the doctrinal development and exchanges within the latter two cores and their peripheries were no longer dependent on the teachings formulated in India. Consequently, in the fourteenth

century, when the monastic institutions in India eventually disappeared due to the invasion of Islamic forces, the Theravadin and Chinese-centered Buddhist networks were able to prosper on their own.

Although there are scattered notices of Indian monks appearing in China in the subsequent Yuan and Ming periods, the spiritual link between India and China through Buddhist theology had essentially unraveled. Tibet, it seems, emerged as the main disseminator of Buddhist, especially esoteric, teachings that flourished in the steppe region and under the Mongols.

An illustration of this dissolution of the spiritual bond between India and China comes from a map called *Sihai huayi zongtu* (General Map of the Chinese and Barbarian [Lands] within the Four Seas) included in the early seventeenth-century encyclopedia *Tushu bian* (On Maps and Books).[6] The author of the encyclopedia, a Chinese scholar named Zhang Huang, explained that the map was based on a Buddhist work and illustrated the Indic continent Jambudvīpa. The unique feature of this map, as Richard Smith points out, was that it had placed China in the center of Jambudvīpa and relegated India to an insignificant position in the southwest.[7] It was, in essence, contrary to the position taken by the seventh-century Chinese monk Daoxuan, who, as noted in the Introduction, had argued for the centrality of the Indic civilization. Indeed, this map exemplifies two significant changes in the Buddhist relations between India and China. First, it illustrates the spiritual detachment and the changed perception of the Chinese clergy towards the Indic world. Secondly, it signifies the independent position, devoid of the borderland complex, the Chinese Buddhism community was able to assume after the ninth and tenth centuries.

The Explosion of Commerce

The view that Sino-Indian exchanges dwindled after the Tang period is incorrect. Rather, in the eleventh century, the Buddhist ties between India and China were simply replaced by vigorous trading interchanges. The entry of Islamic traders and the decision of various Asian states, including Song China and the Cholas, to link their local economy to the lucrative transcontinental trade (see Chapter 4) prompted the transition of Sino-Indian relations from Buddhist-dominated to trade-centered exchanges. It must be recognized, however, that the explosion of commerce and the extensive trading links

of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Asia were built upon the existing Buddhist networks. The preexisting maritime and overland channels between India and China facilitated the large-scale commercial traffic across the Indian Ocean and the Central Asian Silk Road. While Buddhist doctrines may still have been transmitted through some of these channels (as in the case of routes linking Tibet, Khitans, and Tanguts), they no longer dominated the trading relations between India and China.

It is clear from the exchanges between the Chola kingdom and the Song China (as discussed in Chapter 5) that Buddhist doctrine had lost its erstwhile vigor in Sino-Indian commercial interactions. The exchanges between the coastal regions of India and China since the tenth century were motivated by commercial concerns, operated by non-Buddhist Tamil and Muslim traders, and the goods traded were mostly non-religious luxuries and bulk commodities. The expansion of Chinese mercantile activities in the Indian Ocean in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to further growth of commercial relations between India and China. Yuan and Ming sources are replete with reports of trading activities between the two regions. In fact, the receptions some of the Chinese trading missions received in India were more lavish and grander than those given to the Tang Buddhist embassies in the mid-seventh century discussed in Chapter 1. Fei Xin's (1388–1436?) fifteenth-century work *Xingcha shenglan* (The Overall Survey of the Star Raft), for example, describes how the Chinese were generously entertained, feasted, and laded with gifts by the Muslim ruler of Bengal. He writes,

> When their king (i.e., the king of Bengal) with a polite ceremonial bow received [our] imperial edict, he expressed sincere thanks and raised it to his head. [Then] opened the recitals and the conferment of gifts. The receipt of the presents being finished, [the king] had fleece rugs spread out on the ground of the hall, entertained our celestial ambassadors, feasted our officials and soldiers, and presented them with [return] gifts in a most generous way.
>
> [During the feast] they roasted beef and mutton, but consuming wine was forbidden for fear that it might disturb someone's character and prevent him from conforming to the ceremonial. They only drank rose-dew mixed with tasty honey-water (*sherbat*). After the banquet, [the king] again offered

> presents to the celestial ambassadors: golden helmets, golden waist-girdles, golden bowls, and golden flagons. The assistant envoys all received silver helmets, silver waist-girdles, silver bowls, and silver flagons, the officials under them golden bells, sack-cloth, and long robes, and each soldier silver cups and money.[8]

Similar receptions were also given to Chinese missions visiting Cochin and Calicut.

Indeed, the dynamic state of Sino-Indian commerce in the fifteenth century can be discerned from the growth of maritime exchanges between the two countries. In late 1413 or early 1414, for example, a fleet of sixty-three ships with a total crew of 28,560 men sailed from China toward the port of Calicut in southern India.[9] Leading this armada was Admiral Zheng He, the Ming official who had already made three previous voyages across the Indian Ocean. In fact, between 1405 and 1433, Zheng He undertook a total of seven naval missions that called upon the commercial ports of Southeast Asia, the eastern and western coasts of India, the Persian Gulf, and even entered the African towns of Mogadishu and Mombassa. The expedition of 1413–1414 was by far the largest and most lavish of all. It signified the dominance of Chinese shipping and markets on the maritime commerce in the fifteenth century. More importantly, the flurry of Indian tribute and commercial missions to Ming China that were prompted by Zheng He's trips and the brisk trading activities at the Indian coasts between the native and Chinese merchants accompanying the Ming fleet exemplified the dramatic shift in the focus of Sino-Indian relations from Buddhist-centered to trade-dominated.[10] Evidently, the intensity of Sino-Indian exchanges and the trading circuit between the two regions, despite the diminished role of Buddhism, seems to have been maintained through to the fifteenth century.

True, the growth of intercontinental trade between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries stimulated the economies of India and China, contributed to the development of manufacturing industries in the two regions, and brought about tremendous changes in the social and cultural life of the people throughout Asia. Unlike commercial activities in the early first millennium, however, this global trade failed to occasion an appreciable exchange of cultural ideas between India and China. Apart from a few technological transfers, such as that of Chi-

nese fishing nets to the Malabar coast, no significant ideas or ideologies seem to have been transmitted between India and China in the five hundred years of intense commercial exchanges. The severing of Buddhist ties, the absence of organizations (such as the translation bureaus) in charge of interpreting and learning the traditions of the two regions, and the lack of proselytizing and pilgrimage activities that had previously paralleled the mercantile exchanges may have been some of the main causes. Thus, while Sino-Indian interactions continued to be impressive in the first half of the second millennium, the processes of social conversion and syncretism that marked the preceding Buddhist phase of Sino-Indian interactions failed to recur.

NOTES

Introduction

1. India in this study refers to the region that now comprises of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan.

2. On early patterns of Sino-Indian interactions, see Xinru Liu's excellent study *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges* A.D. *1–600* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988).

3. I use here Michel Strickmann's suggestion for the Chinese rationale to open (and maintain) the route to Central Asia, the route commonly known as the Silk Road. Strickmann writes, "The path of the first Buddhist missionaries is better known as the Silk Route, commerce thus nominally winning out over religion—but in fact, Buddhism and commerce were closely allied from the start. Yet neither was a factor in the great road's opening; it was a simple question of military expediency." Strickmann explains that the Chinese attempts to form alliances against the Xiongnu in due time led to an increase in the cultural and commercial interactions between China and the Central Asian region. See Michel Strickmann, "India in the Chinese Looking-Glass," in *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes*, ed. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter (Los Angles: UCLA Art Council, 1982): 53. A.F.P. Hulsewé and M.A.N. Loewe have also pointed out that the initial Chinese expansion into Central Asia was aimed at countering the threat from the nomadic Xiongnu forces. See *China in Central Asia, The Early State: 125* B.C.–A.D. *23, An Annotated Translation of Chapters 61 and 96 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979). For a recent reevaluation of the relations between the Chinese and Xiongnu empire, especially the impact of Chinese intrusions into Central Asia, see Nicola Di Cosmo, "Ancient Inner Asian Nomads: Their Economic Basis and Its Significance in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53.4 (November 1994): 1092–1126.

4. *Shi ji* 123 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996): 3166.

5. On the Greek settlements in the southern Hindukush region, see W. W. Tran, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); and A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957). While Tran suggests that the Greek colonies in the region were first established after the campaigns of Alexander of Macedon (r. 336–323), Narain has argued that they may have existed even before Alexander overthrew the Achaemenid empire in Persia and entered the region.

6. Kuwayama Shōshin has convincingly argued that Jibin until the early fifth century denoted the Gandhāra region, from the early fifth to the early seventh centuries it indicated Kaśmīr, and from the early seventh century onward it stood for Kapiśa. See *Kāpiśī=Gandhāra shi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1990): 43–53. Fumio Enamoto, while generally agreeing with Kuwayama, argues that between the fourth and sixth centuries Jibin, in Chinese sources, "indicated a wider area including Kashmir, Gandhāra, and possibly Tokharistan." See Fumio Enomoto, "A Note on Kashmir as Referred to in Chinese Literature: Ji-bin," on *A Study of the Nīlamata: Aspects of Hinduism in Ancient Kashmir*, ed. Ikari Yasuke (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1994): 361. Earlier studies on this topic by S. Levi, K. Shiratori, P. C. Bagchi, and Luciano Petech are discussed in Kuwayama's work.

7. *Han shu* 96a (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996): 3884–3887. For a complete translation, see Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 104–112. The most recent and detailed study of this episode is Yu Taishan's "Jibin" in his *Saizhong shi yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992): 144–167. See also A. A. Bokshchanin, "Sino-Indian Relations from Ancient Times to the Sixteenth Century," in *China and Her Neighbours: From Ancient Times to the Middle Ages, A Collection of Essays*, ed. S. L. Tikhvinsky (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981): 109–110.

8. The names here are identified according to Yu Taishan's "Jibin," 144–167. For earlier studies on the Chinese interaction with the Greek colonies in the southern Hindukush region, see Tran, *The Greeks in Bactria*; and Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, 128–164.

9. Hulsewé translates this as "Yin-mo-fu, son of the Jung-ch'ü," and explains that "Jung-ch'ü (Rongqu) is either part of the royal title, or it is the name of an area or a tribe." See *China in Central Asia*, 108, and n. 232. Yu Taishan, however, persuasively argues that "Rongqu" here indicates the Greek settlers in Central Asia.

10. See *Han shu* 96a: 3886–3887; and Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 108–112.

11. *Han shu* 95: 3841. The notice on Chinese envoys visiting the Huangzhi kingdom in Ban Gu's work (28b: 1671), despite numerous attempts to identify it with coastal India, is too vague and cryptic to demonstrate early maritime contacts between China and India. Speculation about the exact location of Huangzhi has ranged from the eastern coast of Africa to the Polynesian islands. Chinese

pilgrims, who are quick to identify Indian place names previously used by the official scribes, never associate the kingdom with India.

12. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China,* 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 1: 23.

13. *Hou Han shu* 42 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995): 1428; Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 1: 26–27; Tsukamoto Zenryū, *History of Chinese Buddhism: From Its Introduction to the Death of Hui-yüan,* 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1985), 1: 60; and Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia, Volume One* (Leiden: Brill: 1999): 15–19. A more famous, but less reliable, notice about the same period is the dream in which Emperor Ming purportedly saw a golden man with bright light issuing from his neck. Subsequently, the emperor dispatched special envoys to invite Buddhist monks to China. The envoys, in 67 C.E., we are told, brought with them the first two Buddhist monks called Shemoteng/Jiayemoteng (Kaśapamṛdaṅga?/Kāśyapa Mātanga?) and Zhu Falan. Wei Shou, *Wei shu* 114 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974): 3025–3026. On notices of Buddhist doctrines in China before the second century and their validity, see Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 1: 18–30.

14. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* 27–95; and Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements in Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* 47.3–4 (1986): 263–316. See also Ruan Rongchun, *Fojiao nanchuan zhi lu* (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2000).

15. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* 27–47.

16. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* 47. See also R. Edwards, "The Cave Relief at Ma Hao," *Artibus Asiae* 17 (1954): 5–28; 103–129; and Meiji Yamada, "Buddhist Liberation and Birth in the Heavens: The Significance of the Earliest Buddhist Icons Found among Grave Objects in China's Yangtze River Region," in *Wisdom, Compassion, and the Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao,* ed. Jonathan A. Silk (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000): 369–396.

17. See Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* 54–55; and Wu Zhuo, "Sichuan zaoqi fojiao yiwu ji qi niandai yu chuanbo tujing de kaocha," *Wenwu* 11 (1992): 40–50.

18. Wu Hung, "Buddhist Elements," 273ff.

19. For the spread and impact of Buddhist ideas regarding afterlife and purgatory on the Chinese society, see the following two books by Stephen Teiser: *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

20. See Koichi Shinohara, "Two Sources of Chinese Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories," in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia,* ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1988): 119–228; and John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

21. E. Zürcher, "The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Culture in a Historical Perspective," in *The Buddhist Heritage: Papers Delivered at the Symposium of*

the Same Name Convened at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, November 1985, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1989): 117.

22. With slight additions, in parentheses, to L. Petech's translation in *Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu* (Roma: Is. M.E.O., 1950): 20. As Petech points out, Li Daoyuan's observation on Middle India is based on Faxian's notice, which says: "Middle India (Zhong Tianzhu) is called Madhyadeśa (Zhongguo). The people [of Madhyadeśa] dress and have eating habits that are similar to that of China (Zhongguo)." *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T. 2085: 858a.19–20.

23. See Richard B. Mather, "Chinese and Indian Perceptions of Each Other between the First and Seventh Centuries," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112.1 (1992): 1–8.

24. John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the* Aśokāvadāna (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983): 8. An excellent analysis of how Xuanzang viewed the sacred landscape of India is presented in Malcolm David Eckel's *To See the Buddha: A Philosopher's Quest for the Meaning of Emptiness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992): 51–65.

25. On Wang Xuance and his contribution to Buddhist interactions between India and China, see Chapter 1.

26. *Shijia fangzhi*, T. 2088: 949a–950c. One of the earliest arguments regarding India as the true center of the world is attributed to Mouzi. Mouzi's work, *Lihuo lun*, is incorporated in Sengyou's sixth-century text *Hongming ji*. Mouzi calls India "the center of heaven and earth." See T. 2102: 1c.25–26. While the dates for Mouzi are uncertain, Zürcher has suggested that that *Lihuo lun* may have been compiled around the middle of the fifth century. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, 1: 13–15. For a detailed discussion on the date and author of this work, including a complete translation, see John P. Keenan, *How Master Mou Removes Our Doubts: A Reader-Response Study and Translation of the* Mou-tzu Lihuo lun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

27. See Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest*, Chapter 5; and Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), Introduction.

28. *Lihuo lun*, T.2102: 2b.26–27. Translation by Keenan, *How Master Mou*, 79. In response, Mouzi is reported to have responded, "Books don't have to be in the words of K'ung-ch'iu (Kongqiu [i.e., Confucius]). Medicines don't have to follow the prescriptions of P'ien Ch'üeh (Pian Que, a legendary Chinese physician). If they harmonize with righteousness, follow them! If they cure illness, they are good! In order to sustain himself, the gentleman selects what is good from a broad spectrum." See Keenan, *How Master Mou*, 79.

29. *Hongming ji*, T. 2102: 19c.27–29. This is part of an argument presented by an official named He Chengtian (370–447) of the Liu Song period (420–479). See Mather, "Chinese and Indian," 4.

30. Romila Thapar, "The Image of the Barbarian in Early India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13.4 (1971): 408–436. For a detailed study on the con-

cept of *mleccha*, see Aloka Parasher, *Mlecchas in Early India: A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders up to* A.D. *600* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1991).

31. Antonino Forte, "Hui-chih (fl. 676–703 A.D.), A Brahman Born in China," *Estratto da Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 45 (1985): 106–134.

32. Forte, "Hui-chih," 125. The translation here is based on S. Julien's French rendition of Xuanzang's biography written by his disciples Huili and Yancong. The passage appears in English in Needham's *Science and Civilisation of China*, vol.1: 209–210; and Forte, "Hui-chih," 125. The original dialogue can be found in *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T. 2053: 246.a11-27.

33. Forte, "Hui-chih," 126. The feeling of a "borderland complex" among the Chinese clergy can also be discerned from Faxian's travelogue. After arriving at the Jetavana Monastery, where the Buddha had preached for twenty-five years, Faxian and his companion Daozheng are reported to have been filled with grief by the fact that they were born in the "borderland" and therefore, we are told, decided not to return to China. See *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, 2085: 860c.1–2; and 864b.29-c.3.

34. For a recent use of this model of the decline of premodern Sino-Indian interactions, see Alka Acharya, "India-China Relations: An Overview," in *The Peacock and the Dragon: India-China Relations in the 21st Century*, ed. Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Matoo (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2000): 169.

Chapter One

1. Marylin M. Rhie, *Interrelationships between the Buddhist Art of China and the Art of India and Central Asia from 618–755* A.D. (Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, 1988): 39–40.

2. *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T. 2087: 867b–947c. The work has been annotated by Ji Xianlin and others as *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985). See also Kuwayama Shōshin, *Daitō Saiiki ki* (Tokyo: Chūokoronsha, 1987). For the latest English translation of Xuanzang's dairy, see Li Rongxi, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996). An extensive study of the life of Xuanzang is Alexander Leonhard Mayer and Klaus Röhrborn's *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991–). A popular narrative of Xuanzang's pilgrimage to India is Sally Hovey Wriggins's *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996).

3. It must be pointed out that Xuanzang's narrative of his pilgrimage to India was written specifically for the eyes of the most powerful person in seventh-century Tang China—Emperor Taizong. With the prospective reader in mind, Xuanzang set out to write a book that satisfied the emperor's political curiosity about the Western Regions and, at the same time, emphasized the monks personal contacts with and knowledge of foreign political leaders.

4. D. Devahuti, *Harsha: A Political Study* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), Chapter 4; and Ronald Inden, "Imperial Purāṇas: Kashmir as Vaiṣṇava Center of the World," in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in*

South Asia, eds. Ronald Inden, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): 74–76.

5. For the problem in dating Xuanzang's meeting with Harṣa, see note 7.

6. *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T. 2087: 894c.28–895a.18.

7. There is great confusion about the sequence of events. A few scholars, such as Devahuti, believe that Harṣa sent the embassy to China before he met Xuanzang. Others, in contrast, put the date of the meeting before Harṣa dispatched his envoys. This confusion has arisen primarily from the difficulty of dating not only the meeting between Harṣa and Xuanzang, but also the time of the Chinese monk's departure from China. Opinion about the start of the pilgrimage is divided between the first year of the Zhenguan period (January 23, 627 to February 10, 628) and the third year of the same reign era (January 30, 629 to February 17, 630). Kuwayama Shōshin, based on the political situation in Central Asia, concludes that Xuanzang must have left the Chinese capital no later than the beginning of the second year of the Zhenguan era (i.e., 628). An earlier date of departure would place the meeting between Harṣa and Xuanzang in 640, a year before the Indian embassy reached China. The problem is also complicated by Xuanzang's description of his entry into Kānyakubja. At the end of scroll four (T.2087: 893b.28–29) of his diary, Xuanzang notes that he entered Kānyakubja from the kingdom of Qiebita (Kapitha, near present day Farukhabad). In scroll five (T.2087: 894c.19), where he describes his meeting with Harṣa, Xuanzang says that he proceeded to Kānyakubja with the king of Kāmarūpa in East India. The use of the word *chu* ("in the beginning") before the narration of the meeting indicates that Xuanzang may have been reflecting on a past event. Since he travelled from Magadha to Kārmarūpa, before proceeding to Kānyakubja, and the fact that Harṣa calls the Chinese monk "the distant guest of Nālandā" seems to indicate the meeting with the Indian king took place when Xuanzang was still a student of the renowned Buddhist university. In this case, Xuanzang may have met the Indian king as early as 637 or 638 (see the note on Xuanzang's dream below). For various contending views about Xuanzang's departure from China and his meeting with the Indian king, see Devahuti, *Harsha*; Yang Tingfu, *Xuanzang nianpu* (reprint, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988); and Kuwayama Shōshin, "How Xuanzang Learned about Nālandā," in *Tang China and Beyond: Studies on East Asia from the Seventh to the Tenth Century*, ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1988): 1–33.

8. Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) and Song Qi (998–1061), *Xin Tang shu* 221a (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975): 6237. The Chinese, at least since the time of Faxian's narration of his travels to India in the fifth century, referred to the area around Pāṭaliputra (present-day Patna) in Middle India as Magadha—the region frequented by the Buddha. Xuanzang differentiates between Harṣa's kingdom, which he calls Jieruojushe/Qunüchengguo (Kānyakubja), and Magadha (Mojietuo). He notes, however, that Harṣa's authority extended over the Magadhan region. Because of the Buddhist connection, Magadha, for the Chinese, was not only familiar but also a more prestigious designation.

9. Devahuti, *Harsha*, 253–254.

10. Devahuti, *Harsha*, 254.

11. Translations of Chinese official titles in this book are based on Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

12. On the evolution of the Court of State Ceremonial and its role in Sino-foreign contacts, see Li Hu, *Han Tang waijiao zhidu shi* (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1998); and Pan Yihong, *Son of Heaven and Heavenly Qaghan: Sui-Tang China and its Neighbours* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1997): 75–81.

13. Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 77.

14. Feng Chengjun, "Wang Xuance shi ji," in *Xiyu Nanhai shidi kaozheng huibian*, ed. Feng Chengjun (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957): 126.

15. Although it is not apparent in the notice found in *Xin Tang shu*, this sentence, as pointed out to me by Chen Jinhua in a personal communication, was meant to be an explanatory note added by the compilers of the text regarding the term "Mahācīna" used by foreigners when referring to China.

16. *Xin Tang shu*, 221a: 6237–6238.

17. Only the southern Hindukush area, as is discussed later in the chapter, seems to have been of actual military interest to the Chinese court. In fact, as noted in Introduction, diplomatic exchanges between China and the southern Hindukush region are reported to have started before the Common Era.

18. See Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs, and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 22–23. See also Yang Ming, *Tubo tongzhi Dunhuang yanjiu* (Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1997): 295–302. An overview of the Tang court's response and policy toward the Tibetan threat since the seventh century is presented in Denis Twitchett's "Tibet in Tang's Grand Strategy," in *Warfare in Chinese History*, ed. Hans van de Ven (Leiden: Brill, 2000): 106–179.

19. For a detailed study on Tibetan subjugation of Nepal and various issues connected to it, see Yamaguchi Zuihō, *Toban ōkoku seiritsushi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1983): 740–782.

20. The Tibetans perhaps wanted to avoid confrontations on multiple fronts, especially in the southern region as it formed the agricultural base of the empire. Indeed, it may have been due to a non-confrontational understanding between the Tibetans and Kanauj that the two empires were able to concentrate on expanding other sectors of their territories.

21. Sun Xiushen uses a notice on the battle between Wang Xuance and Aruṇāśa which he says is from a Chinese translation of the drama *Nāgānanda* (Ch. *Long xi ji*) authored by Harṣa. See Sun's "Tubo chujun zhu Tangshi pingpan," in *Wang Xuance shiji gouchen*, ed. Sun Xiushen (Urmuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1998): 111–112. I have been unable to locate this episode in the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of *Nāgānanda*. Sun is probably referring to the Tibetan *Deb-ther dkar-po* (The White Annals) written by the twentieth-century

author dGe'-dun Chos-'phel (1905?–1951?), which describes Harṣa as the author of *Nāgānanda*, and then records the battle between Wang Xuance and Aruṇāśa. See dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, *Deb-ther dkar-po*, translated by Samten Norboo (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978): 76–77. On an earlier Tibetan record of the Wang Xuance episode, found in Tshal-pa Kun-dga'rdo-rje's fourteenth-century work *Deb-ther dmar-po* (The Red Annals), see Narayan Chandra Sen, *Accounts of India and Kashmir in the Dynastic Histories of the T'ang Period* (Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati, 1968): 5.

22. Devahuti provides useful translations of Chinese sources regarding the death of Harṣa and the diplomatic intercourse between China and Kanauj. See *Harsha*, 238–263.

23. Liu Xu (887–946), *Jiu Tang shu* 198 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975): 5308. For a detailed examination of the battle, see L. A. Waddell, "Tibetan Invasion of India in 647 A.D. and Its Results," *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record* 31. 61–62 (January-April 1911): 37–65.

24. Daoxuan (596–667), the author of Xuanzang's biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, notes that Xuanzang, when in India, dreamt of a golden man who predicted that King Harṣa would die in ten years time. "Then," he writes, "by the end (perhaps a mistake for "beginning") of the Yongwei period (650–655), King Śīlāditya died as expected. And now there is chaos [in India], just as [was foreboded] in the dream." See T. 2060: 452c.19–22. Daoxuan's account of the situation in Kanauj is clearly based on the report given by Wang Xuance on his return to China in 648. In which case, Daoxuan was probably narrating an event sometime in 637 or 638, shortly before Xuanzang's audience with Harṣa. See note 7.

25. See Waddell's "Tibetan Invasion" for a detailed examination of the geography and sites involved in the battle.

26. Kalhaṇa (fl. twelfth century), the Kaśmīri author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, not only includes records on Kānyakubja during the post-Harṣa period, but seems to have also studied the life of the famous seventh-century king in some detail. See M. A. Stein trans., *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, 3 vols. (reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989), 1: 11.

27. Interpreting the battle between Wang Xuance-led forces and the Indian attacker differently, L. A. Waddell has proposed that the attack on Aruṇāśa was instigated by the Tibetans, and "the Chinese envoy merely 'accompanied' the force, and that it was *they* (the Tibetans) who attacked and inflicted the defeat." See Waddell, "Tibetan Invasion of India," 43–44. Waddell's argument, however, is based on his misinterpretation of the Chinese record in the *Jiu Tang shu*. The passage which Waddell uses as the basis for his argument should read: "In the twenty-second year of the Zhenguan period (648), the Right Defense Guard Commandant [and] the Main Envoy Wang Xuance went to the Western Regions on a diplomatic mission. [His entourage] was attacked by Middle India. *The Tibetans dispatched picked troops to accompany Wang Xuance in attacking [Middle] India.* [They] completely destroyed Middle India. [The Tibetans] sent envoys who

came to report the [news of] victory [to the Chinese court]." See *Jiu Tang shu*, 196: 5222. In addition, all other extant Tang sources and even the two Tibetan records of the episode note that it were the Tibetans who assisted Wang Xuance after the Chinese entourage was attacked by Aruṇāśa. *Deb-ther dmar-po*, for example, records "T'ai Tsung (Taizong) sent an envoy to India. That Magadha was to be conquered was *heard by* the Tibetans, who then sent soldiers and Magadha was conquered." Translated in Sen, *Accounts of India and Kashmir*, 5. The emphasis is mine. Similarly, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel's study of the reign of Srong-brtsan sgam-po also highlights the assistance of the Tibetan forces in capturing and handing over of the Indian king to the Chinese emperor. Emperor Taizong was so pleased by the Tibetan gesture that the Chinese ruler, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel notes, "erected an edifice of the Tibetan monarch in proximity to his own prearranged vault, to commemorate the Tibetan king." See dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, *Deb-ther dkar-po*, 76–77. Pan Yihong is right, I think, in concluding that "it was in their own interest that the Tibetans joined Tang troops to attack India so as to demonstrate their strength." See Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 238. Moreover, the joint military expedition may have been an opportunity for the Tibetans to show their earnestness in upholding the alliance with the Tang court.

28. *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5222.

29. Yang, *Tubo*, 297–298.

30. See Yang, *Tubo*, 296–297.

31. On China's relations with Nepal during the Tang dynasty, see Yamaguchi, *Toban*, 740–782; and Sun Xiushen, "Tang chu Zhongguo yu Nipoer wangguo de jiaotong," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 1 (1999): 100–109.

32. See Huo Wei "'Da Tang Tianzhu shi chu ming' ji qi xiangguan wenti de yanjiu," *Tōhō Gakuho* 66 (1994): 270–253 (*sic*); and Lin Meicun, "'Da Tang Tianzhu shi chu ming' jiaozhu," in *Han-Tang Xiyu yu Zhongguo wenming*, ed. Lin Meicun (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998): 420–442.

33. Yijing, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T 2066. This work has been translated into English by Latika Lahiri as *Chinese Monks in India: Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the Western World in Search of the Law during the Great T'ang Dynasty* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1986). One of the best annotations of this work is Wang Bangwei's *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988).

34. See Don Y. Lee, *The History of Early Relations between China and Tibet, from Chiu T'ang-shu, a Documentry Survey* (Bloomington: Eastern Press, 1981); Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh, c. 950–1842* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1977): 8–9; and Inden, "Imperial Purāṇas," 79–80.

35. *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T 2066: 2a.17–18.

36. For Xuanzong's attitude toward Buddhism, see Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987): 51–57. Weinstein points out that the Tang ruler, who came to the throne only seven years after the pro-Buddhist, and the usurper of the Tang dynasty, Wu Zetian had abdicated her power, undertook extreme measures aimed at limiting the size and

power of the Buddhist community in China. He stopped the construction of new monasteries, tried to force monks to pay reverence to their parents, and issued edicts expelling foreign monks from China (see note 173 below). The Tang ruler nonetheless patronized the three leading esoteric monks from India, Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra. Xuanzong's fascination for these Indian masters, Weinstein points out, was induced mainly because of the similarities in the rituals employed by the esoteric monks and those practiced by the Daoists, the latter being the emperor's favored religion.

37. Here I follow Karl Jettmar's usage of Palūr as the pre-Islamic name for the town. See Karl Jettmar, "The Paṭolas, Their Governors and Their Successors," in *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan: Reports and Studies, Vol. 2*, ed. Karl Jettmar, Ditte König and Martin Bemmann (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 77–122.

38. The Palūr region was divided into two parts, Little Palūr and Great Palūr (Ch. Da Bolü, around the present-day Skardu region). While Great Palūr, in the east, was subjugated by the Tibetans, Little Palūr, on the west, struggled to keep the Tibetans away with Chinese help. See Karl Jeemar, "Bolor—A Contribution to the Political and Ethnic Geography of North Pakistan," *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach-und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität Bonn* 11 (1977): 414–415. For archeological evidence indicating Buddhist activities in the Gilgit-Chilas-Baltit region, see *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path: Esoteric Buddhist Art on the Trans-Himalayan Trade Routes*, ed. Deborah Klimburg-Salter (Los Angles: UCLA Art Council, 1982). On the Paṭola Śāhis, see Oskar V. Hinueber, "Paṭola Ṣahis of Gilgit—A Forgotten Dynasty," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 36. 1–4 (September 1986-June 1987): 221–229.

39. Wang Qinruo (962–1025) et al., *Cefu yuangui* 970 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960): 11403a; Wang Pu (922–982), *Tang hui yao* 100 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991): 2123; and *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5308. The names of Indian kings are transcribed somewhat differently in *Jiu Tang shu.* See also Kuwayama Shōshin, "Dating Yaśovarman of Kanauj on the Evidence of Huichao," *Zinbun* 29 (1994): 12–13.

40. *Jiu Tang shu* (6: 122) notes that the *"Five Indias sent their tributary envoys together."* Elsewhere (198: 5308), however, the work reports that the five Indian kings "together arrived" in China in 692. This latter notice is similar to those found in *Cefu yuangui and Tang hui yao.* See also Édouard Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux," *T'oung Pao* 5 (1904): 24.

41. Taking advantage of internal disorders in Tibet, as Beckwith points out, the Tang court, between late 690 and early 692, was preparing to mount an offensive attack against the Tibetans. See *The Tibetan Empire*, 52–54. It is conceivable that the Indian rulers, or their representatives, approached the Tang court to show their support for such a military endeavor.

42. On Empress Wu's use of Buddhism and Buddhist texts to legitimize her usurpation, see Antonino Forte's *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century: Inquiry into the Nature, Authors and Function of the Tun-*

huang Document S. 6502 Followed by an Annotated Translation (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1976). This topic is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

43. *Cefu yuangui*, 973: 11433a-b; 995: 11687a. *Cefu yuangui* (974: 11447a) also reports that the South Indian envoy was given return gifts that included an embroidered robe, a golden belt, and a fish-bag containing seven [indispensable] things (which were firing stone, rice, oil, salt, soy, vinegar, and tea). See also Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles," 44–45. Such fish-bags, which symbolized the establishment of official relations with China on inferior-to-superior basis, were a common gift in China's diplomatic relations with foreign countries. See Beckwith, *Tibetan Empire*, 89–90; and Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles," 36, nn. 3–4.

44. *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5309. See also Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles," 44–45.

45. See Luciano Petech, review of *The Tibetan Empire* by Beckwith, *Central Asiatic Journal* 33. 1–2 (1989): 154–156. The dates for Rājasiṃha here are based on K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *A History of South India: From Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar* (reprint, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975). See also Chou Yiliang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1944–1945): 315–317. Chou argues that the South Indian king mentioned here is the same as Naluosengjiaputuobo(?)mo (Narasiṃhapotavarman?), who is reported to have invited the Tantric monk Vajrabodhi to pray for rain. It was also the same Indian king who, when, in the early eighth century, Vajrabodhi decided to go to China and pay obeisance to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, asked the monk to carry various Buddhist artifacts as gifts to the Tang ruler. See Yuanzhao (fl. eighth century), *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, T. 2157: 875b.14–16. The development of the Mañjuśrī cult in China and the attempt made by the Tang clergy to propagate Mount Wutai as one of the major pilgrimage sites for Buddhist adherents is discussed in Chapter 2.

46. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History*, 153.

47. Petech, review of *The Tibetan Empire*, 156.

48. André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World, Volume 1, Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th-11th Centuries* (reprint, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999): 203–207.

49. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1: 206–208.

50. Xuanzang, who visited the region in around 629, reports that the Turkic king of Kapiśa controlled the surrounding region of Lampāka (present-day Laghman) and Gandhāra. See *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T. 2087: 873c, and 878b-879b. On numismatic evidence regarding the minting of new types of coins by the Turkic ruler of Kapiśa, see Robert Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967) 3: 198–205, and 217–224.

51. *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5309; Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, Recueillis et commentés* (St. Pétersbourg: l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Pétersbourg, 1903). 131, n. 4; and J. Harmatta and B. A. Litvinsky,

"Tokharistan and Gandhara under Türk Rule (650–750)" in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Volume III, The Crossroads of Civilizations: A. D. 250 to 750*, eds. B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da (*sic*), and R. Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996): 373.

52. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 1: 86.

53. These missions are discussed in detail by Kuwayama in *Kāpiśī-Gandhāra*, 238–251. See also Chavannes, *Documents*, 130–132; and Harmatta and Litvinsky, "Tokharistan and Gandhara," 367–401.

54. *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5309.

55. See Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 197–203; and Li, *Han-Tang waijiao*, 470–474.

56. Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 201. For identification of some of the loose-reign prefectures in the Western Regions, see Feng, "Fu *Xin Tang shu* Xiyu jimi fuzhou kao," 62–67.

57. *Tang hui yao* 24: 536; and Li, *Han-Tang waijiao*, 473–474.

58. The *Tang Code*, for example, specifically prohibited diplomatic envoys from participating in any commercial transactions. See Chapter 4.

59. Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 200.

60. *Xin Tang shu*, 43b: 1135.

61. *Xin Tang shu*, 221b: 6256; *Cefu yuangui*, 964: 11343b–11344a; Chavannes, *Documents*, 166 and 209, n. 3; Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles,"44; and Sen, *Accounts*, 17.

62. For recent studies on the political and military situation in the region, see Moriyasu Takao, "Toban no Chūō Ajia shinshutsu," *Kanazawa daigaku bungakubu ronshū, shigakuka hen* 4 (1984): 1–85; Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*; Wink, *Al-Hind*; and Wang Xiaofu, *Tang, Tubo, Dashi zhengzhi guanxi shi* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1992).

63. *Xin Tang shu*, 221b: 6256.

64. Sima Guang (1019–1086), *Zizhi tongjian* 208 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992): 6610. A detailed study of Princess Jincheng's marriage to Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan and her activities in Tibet is Satō Hisashi's three part essay "Kinjō kō shu no nyūzō ni tsuite," *Shirin* 39.1 (January 1956): 62–82, 39.3 (May 1956): 56–72, and 39.4 (July 1956): 63–79. On the broader issues of matrimonial relations between the Tang court and Tibet and the dating of such exchanges, see Yamaguchi Zuihō, "Matrimonial Relationship between the T'u-fan and the T'ang Dynasty (Part II)," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 28 (1970): 59–99; and G. Uray, "The Annals of the 'A-ˇza Principality: The Problems of Chronology and Genre of the Stein Document, Tun-huang, vol. 69, fol. 84," in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium, Held at Mátrafüred, Hungary, 24–30 September 1976*, ed. Louis Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1978): 541–574.

65. *Zizhi tongjian*, 209: 6639.

66. *Cefu yuangui*, 979: 11501a-b; *Zizhi tongjian*, 212: 6762; Chavannes, *Documents*, 205–206; Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, 95–96, n. 62; and Pan, *Son of Heaven*, 253.

67. *Xin Tang shu,* 221b: 6256.

68. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 96, n. 62; and Moriyasu, "Toban," 36–37.

69. Beckwith and Moriyasu have suggested that the Kaśmīri king solicited the help of the neighboring Zābulistān and not Little Palūr, an ally of the Tang court, because the Tibetans and their allies had continued to wield power in the Gilgit region even after they were routed by the Chinese in 722. See Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 96, n. 62. Wang Xiaofu, however, has disputed this view. The Kaśmīri king approached the ruler of Zābulistān, Wang contends, simply because the Turkic kingdom was recognized as most powerful state in the southern Hindukush region. See Wang, *Tang, Tubo,* 168. Indeed, the Korean monk Hyech'o's report corroborates Wang's claim. Describing the political situation in the region in around 725, Hyech'o writes, "Although the king [of Zābulistān] is a nephew of the king of Kapiśa, he is exclusively in control of the tribes and cavalry stationed in the kingdom. [He] is not subjugated by other kingdoms, nor is [he] a subject to his uncle." See Hyech'o, *Wang Wu Tianzhuguo zhuan,* T. 2089: 978a.5–6. In addition, numismatic evidence from the area, as J. Harmatta and B. A. Litvinsky have pointed out, illustrate the "independence, importance, and power of Zabulistan" in the eighth century. See Harmatta and Litvinsky, "Tokharistan and Gandhara," 379.

70. Yang Ming has argued that the report of Princess Jincheng's desire to defect to Kaśmīr was dubious. Faked, he suggests, by the Kaśmīri king in order to seek Chinese help against the Tibetans. See Yang, *Tubo,* 310–311. Given the calm and less than enthusiastic reaction from the Tang ruler to the memorial, it is indeed possible that Zābulistān and Kaśmīr jointly concocted the story to lure the Tang army into the southern Hindukush region.

71. *Cefu yuangui,* 975: 11454a; and Chavannes, "Notes Additionnelles," 55.

72. By "we" Lalitāditya here is perhaps referring to his own forces and those belonging to King Yaśovarman of Kanauj. See Chavannes, *Documents,* 53. *Jiu Tang shu* (198: 5309) reports that in 731 Yaśovarman sent an "eminent" Buddhist monk from Middle India to the Chinese court. On Chinese records concerning Yaśovarman, see Kuwayama, "Dating Yaśovarman of Kanauj on the Evidence of Huichao," 1–15.

73. *Xin Tang shu,* 221b: 6256.

74. *Cefu yuangui,* 11345b. This passage has been translated by Chavannes in *Documents,* 209.

75. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 116; Wang, *Tang, Tubo,* 181; and Yang, *Tubo,* 305.

76. *Jiu Tang shu,* 104: 3203; Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 123; Chavannes, *Documents,* 151; and Jettmar, "The Paṭolas," 85. Jettmar suggests that there were two contending political factions in Little Palūr, one a pro-Chinese and the other a pro-Tibetan. Prior to the Tibetan invasion, the three succeeding rulers of the town, Mojinmang, Nanni, and Malaisi, all received royal titles from and were loyal to the Tang court. Sushilizhi, on the other hand, was a pro-Tibetan, who, by disposing Malaisi, had made himself the ruler soon after Tibetan forces

entered the town in 737. While the pro-Chinese faction, Jettmar points out, is referred to in Tibetan sources as "Bruźa'i rgyalpo" (kings of Bruˇza), Sushilizhi is called "Bruźa rje" (Bruźa Lord). See "The Paṭolas," 86; and Jettmar's "Bolor."

77. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 130, esp. n.132.

78. See Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 130–137; Stein, "A Chinese Expedition"; Wang, *Tang, Tubo,* 180–184; and Yang, *Tubo,* 305–306. These battles between the Chinese and the Tibetans seem to have captivated the narrators of folk tales in China. The Tang author Duan Chengshi, for example, gives an interesting story related to the Chinese campaigns in the Pamir mountains. According to Duan, Xuanzong, the reigning Tang emperor, had ordered one of his generals to obtain a piece of jewelry made of five-colored jade as a tribute item from a Central Asian kingdom. The tribute mission carrying the jewel to the Tang capital, however, was robbed by the natives of Little Palūr. The angry emperor soon dispatched an army of forty thousand soldiers, supported by friendly foreign countries, to recover the jewel. Although the king of Little Palūr, apparently scared of what he saw, offered to surrender, the Tang forces launched their attack and soundly defeated the enemy. On their way to the capital with the retrieved jewel, however, the victorious contingent encountered a fierce storm. Only one Chinese solider and a single foreign associate managed to survive this storm. The jewel and the remaining members of the army had all perished. See *Youyang zazu* 14 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1966): 109–110; and Edward Schafer's *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California, 1963): 36. F. W. Thomas's study of the Tibetan text *Dri-ma-med-paẖi-ẖod-kyis-`zus-pa* (The Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā), a Buddhist work narrating the story of a Khotanese woman, herself a reincarnation of the goddess Vimalaprabhā, attaining enlightenment, suggests that fictitious tales deriving from the Chinese-Tibetan wars in the Pamir mountains were also prevalent in the local region. See Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Turkestan,* 4 vols. (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1935–1963), 1: 139–258.

79. On the identification of Jieshi as Kashkar, see Kazuo Enoki, "Appendix I: Some Remarks on Chieh-shi," *East and West* 27 (1977): 86–91. Yang Ming suggests that the Tibetans, after surrendering Little Palūr to the Tang army, had occupied Kashkar. Their aim, Yang contends, was to deprive the Tang forces in Little PalÂur from the supplies coming from Kaśmīr. See Yang, *Tubo,* 307. On the strategic routes passing through Kashkar, see Wang, *Tang, Tubo,* 119–127. See also Jettmar, "Bolor," 416–417.

80. *Cefu yuangui,* 999: 11724a. A slightly variant petition included in *Tang hui yao* (99: 2104), however, notes that military help from the Chinese was requested because Kashkar was about to invade Tokharistan.

81. *Cefu yuangui,* 999: 11724a; and Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire,* 135–136. A complete translation of this passage can be found in Chavannes, *Documents,* 214–215.

82. *Zizhi tongjian,* 216: 6898; and *Cefu yuangui,* 965: 11349b. The decree from the Tang court appointing Suojia as the new king of Kashkar is translated in Chavannes's *Documents,* 215–216.

83. Jettmar identifies Suoyi as Hunza. See, "The Paṭolas," 90.

84. *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* IV: 168–169. See also Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh,* Chapter 2; and Jettmar, "Bolor," 420.

85. Wink, *Al-Hind,* 1: 266. Although the original source for this episode is not mentioned by Wink, it was possibly the fourteenth-century Tibetan work *Padma-bkaḫi-thaṅ-yig* (Writing of the Pronouncements of Padma[saṃbhava]). The work names King Dharmapāla of the Pāla kingdom as one of the Indian kings subjugated by the Tibetans. The Indian kingdom is reported to have "punctually" paid tribute of precious jewels to the Tibetan court. See F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts,* 1: 272–273.

86. Li Mi's proposal is recorded in *Zizhi tongjian* 233: 7505. The translation here is a modified version of the one that appears in Charles Backus's *The Nan-chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981): 89.

87. Antonino Forte, "Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," in *Echōō Go Tenjiku koku den kenkyū,* ed. Kuwayama Shōshin (Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1992): 228–231.

88. Forte, "Chinese State Monasteries," 231.

89. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan,* T. 2053: 251c.26. Slightly modified from Li Rongxi's translation in *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995): 168.

90. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan,* T. 2053: 252a.6–7.

91. *Zizhi tongjian,* 197: 6214; See also Howard J. Wechsler, "T'ai-tsung (reign 626–49) the Consolidator," in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 3, Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part 1,* eds. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979): 188–241; and Pan, *Son of Heaven,* 210–217.

92. On Taizong's attitude toward Buddhism, see Arthur F. Wright, "T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," in *Perspectives on the T'ang,* eds. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973): 239–263; and Weinstein, *Buddhism,* 11–27.

93. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan,* T. 2053: 253b.21–22.

94. See Arthur F. Wright, "Fo-t'u-teng: A Biography," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3–4 (December 1948): 321–371.

95. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan,* T. 2053: 253b.25–253b.29.

96. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan,* T. 2053: 253b.29–c.1.

97. *Zizhi tongjian,* 198: 6230.

98. *Zizhi tongjian* (168: 6232) reports that the emperor fell sick when his entourage reached Dingzhou in the twelfth lunar month (December 645-January 646).

99. *Zizhi tongjian,* 198: 6236.

100. Daoshi in *Fayuan zhulin* reports that the mission was sent to accompany a Brahman, probably an envoy from Harṣa, who was returning to his country. See T. 2122: 504b.1–3.

101. The contents of these two inscriptions can be found in *Fayuan zhulin,* T. 2122: 503b.11–16 and 504b.10–22. They are discussed in Sylvain Lévi's "Les missions de Wang Hiuen-ts'e dans l'Inde," *Journal Asiatique* 9.15 (1900): 297–341, 401–468; and Édouard Chavannes's "Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gayā: Le Bouddhisme en Chine et dans l'Inde aux Xe et XIe siècles," *Revue de l'Histoire des Relgions* 34 (1896): 27–32.

102. See *Fayuan zhulin,* T. 2122: 503a.6–12; and Zhang Yanyuan (815–?), *Lidai minghua ji* 3 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1965): 213.

103. *Xin Tang shu,* 221a: 6239; *Cefu yuangui,* 970: 11400b; and *Tang hui yao* 100: 2135. For detailed studies on the transmission of the sugar-making technology from India to Tang China, see the following works by Ji Xianlin: "Cīnī wenti—Zhong-Yin wenhua jiaoliu de yige lizheng," *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 4 (1987), reprint in Ji Xianlin, *Ji Xianlin xueshu lunzhu zixuan ji* (Beijing: Beijing shifan xueyuan chubanshe, 1991): 650–660; "Tang Taizong yu Mojietuo—Tangdai Yindu zhitangshu chuanru Zhongguo wenti," *Wenxian* 2 (1988): 3–21 and 3 (1988): 232–248; and *Wenhua jiaoliu de guiji: Zhonghua zhe tang shi* (Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 1997).

104. *Xin Tang shu* (221a : 6239) reports the site as Yangzhou.

105. Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* T. 2060: 454c.22–29. For variant translations, see Sucheta Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China: Peasants, Technology, and the World Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998): 27; and Christian Daniels, "Agro-Industries: Sugarcane Technology," in *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume* 6*: Biology and Biological Technology, Part III, Agro-Industries and Forestry,* ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 370–371.

106. Daniels, "Agro-Industries," and Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society.*

107. *Fayuan zhulin,* T. 2122: 504b.8–9. For an excellent analysis of the feeling of sadness expressed by Chinese pilgrims visiting the sacred Buddhist sites in India, see T.H. Barrett's "Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims," in *The Buddhist Studies Forum, vol. 1: Seminar Papers 1987–1988,* ed. Tadeusz Skorupski (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990), 99–110. The expression of grief, as Barrett proposes, originated from the pilgrims' remorse over the decadence of the glorious period in which the Buddha had lived and spread his teachings. They were also saddened by the fact that they, because of their karmic deeds, were not born during the lifetime of the Buddha. See also Eckel, *To See the Buddha,* 57–60. Wang Xuance's feeling of sadness expressed here may have been due to the same reasons. He was also happy at the same time because he could at least come into the presence of the sites frequented by the Buddha and view the traces left by him.

108. Wang Xuance's now lost diary of his visits to South Asia, *Zhong Tianzhuguo xing ji* (Records of the Travels to Middle India), in ten scrolls, was completed in the first year of the Kaifeng period (666). Included in the work were maps and sketches of India and Buddhist artifacts. For a recent study of the Chinese diplomat and his travels, see Sun, *Wang Xuance shiji gouchen.* See also Lévi, "Les missions"; and Feng, "Wang Xuance."

109. *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2066: 4c.15–18.

110. *Fayuan zhulin*, T. 2122: 597b.7–12.

111. The concept of *dāna* has its origins in the Brahmanical Vedic texts, where the term and its various synonyms implied anything from secular donations to sacrificial offerings. During the post-Vedic phase, a period marked not only by urban growth and increasing commercial activity but also swelling numbers of wandering ascetics, the term was often associated with alms-giving and charity. The Buddhists borrowed many of these pre-existing Brahmanical connotations of *dāna* and transformed it into one of the cornerstones of their doctrine. In Buddhist works, the giving of wealth and property is often described as the proper way of cultivating virtue and accumulating merits. Some of these texts also professed, albeit metaphorically, the extreme acts of offering close kin or body parts as gifts. When introduced into China, the concept of *dāna* had profound impact on the social, cultural, and economic life of the Chinese. For example, it influenced the eschatological tradition of China, fostered the practice of self-mutilation and self-immolation, inspired the construction of religious images and monuments, and stimulated various kinds of economic activities. As can be discerned from the commercial intercourse between India and China (see Chapters 4 and 5), the idea also facilitated the exchange of commodities between the two countries. On the concept of *dāna* in ancient India, see Vijay Nath, *Dāna: Gift System in Ancient India (c. 600 B.C.- c. A.D. 300)*, A Socio-economic Perspective (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1987); and Romila Thapar, "*Dāna* and *Dakṣiṇa* as forms of Exchange," in *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations* (New Delhi: Orient Longman): 94–108. For the practice of *dāna* and its impact on Sino-Indian trade, see Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China.*

112. See Bernard Faure, "Quand l'habit fait le moine: The Symbolism of the Kāṣāya in Sōtō Zen," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 335–369; and John Kieschnick, "The Symbolism of the Monk's Robe in China,"*Asia Major*, 3d ser., 12.1 (1999): 9–32.

113. *Ji shamen buying baisu deng shi*, T. 2108: 461c.28–462a.5.

114. *Ji shamen buying baisu deng shi*, T. 2108: 461c.28–462b.14; and *Quan Tangwen* 204 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990): 910b–911a. Full translation of Wang Xuance's memorial (in French) can be found in Paul Pelliot's "Autour d'une traduction Sanscrite du Tao tö king," *T'oung Pao* 13 (1912) 361–372. One of the earliest debates on this issue, in the fifth century, is discussed in Leon Hurvitz's "'Render unto Ceasar' in Early Chinese Buddhism:

Hui-yuan's Treatise on the Exemption of the Buddhist Clergy from the Requirements of Civil Etiquette," *Sino-Indian Studies* (Liebenthal Festschrift), 5.3–4 (1957): 80–114.

115. Weinstein, *Buddhism*, 32–34. For an extensive study of the debate, see Tonami Mamoru, *Tōdai seiji shakaishi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1986): 488–496. For a brief overview of Chinese court debates on Buddhist practices before and during the Tang dynasty, see Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton, University of Princeton Press, 1995), Introduction. See also R.W.L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien and the Political Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham: Western Washington University, 1978): 32–34.

116. See Wen Yucheng, "Longmen suo jian Zhongwai jiaotong shiliao chutan," *Xibei shidi* 1 (1983): 61–67.

117. Lin, "'Da Tang Tianzhu shi chu ming' jiaozhu," 423.

118. *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2066: 8c.19–20.

119. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T. 2053: 261b.21–27.

120. See Weinstein, *Buddhism*, 29–30.

121. Some scholars believe that Wang Xuance visited India for a fourth time between 663 and 665. The motive, they offer, was to bring the Chinese monk Xuanzhao, who had been residing in India for about fourteen years, back to China. This argument is based on Xuanzhao's biography in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2066: 1c.18–22), which reports that the monk, escorted by a mission sent to India by Emperor Gaozong, returned to Luoyang during the Linde period. Those who support this view argue that the absence of notices on Wang Xuance's activities in China during the Linde period prove that the envoy responsible for bringing Xuanzhao back to Luoyang is none other than the veteran diplomat. This argument, however, is weak and cannot be substantiated. First, records of Wang Xuance's activities in China are so limited that their inadequacy cannot be used to prove that he was visiting India during the interim period. Second, the Buddhist sources that have highlighted Wang Xuance's diplomatic pilgrimages would have also recorded the Indophile's fourth visit, especially if it had been for yet another religious undertaking. The only connection Wang Xuance seems to have had with this mission was that he probably made the initial recommendation about the monk to Emperor Gaozong.

122. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China.*

123. Xinru Liu, *Silk and Religion: An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), Chapter 1; and Liu "Silks and Religions in Eurasia, c. A.D. 600–1200," *Journal of World History* 6.1 (1995): 28–34.

124. See Kuwayama, *Kāpiśī=Gandhāra*, 280; and Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 47.

125. This seems to be a kind of light-emitting crystal sphere that was revered as a divine object in both India and China. See Schafer *Golden Peaches*, 237–239.

126. The Bodhi Tree, under which the Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment, was one of the important objects of veneration by Buddhist adherents within and outside India. The presentation of the saplings of the Bodhi Tree by Middle Indian kings to foreign rulers was common before the thirteenth century. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree, for example, is purported to have been presented by King Aśoka to Devānaṁpiya Tissa, the ruler of Sri Lanka. The implantation of this Bodhi Tree is said to have played a significant role in the development of Buddhist veneration activities in the island nation. Similarly, it seems, some of the Bodhi Trees brought to China, either by Indian envoys or Buddhist monks, were implanted in Chinese Buddhist monasteries. The Guangxiao Monastery in Guangzhou, for instance, is known to have contained a Bodhi Tree that was brought to China by an Indian monk in 502. For a detailed study of this episode and the veneration of the Bodhi Tree at the Guangxiao Monastery during the later periods, see Luo Xianglin, *Tangdai Guangzhou Guangxiaosi yu Zhong-Yin jiaotong zhi guangxi* (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshe, 1960): 147–161. The Bodhi Tree at Mahābodhi Monastery and the pilgrimages of Xuanzang the Tang envoy Wang Xuance to venerate it are described in Duan Chengshi's *Youyang zazu*, 18: 149–150.

127. Li Yibiao probably means King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. See Pelliot, "Autour d'une traduction," 382, n.1.

128. Daoxuan, *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* [*shilu*], T. 2104: 386b.25–386c.1. See also Pelliot's translation of the passage in "Autour d'une traduction," 384–385.

129. For a detailed study of this episode, see Pelliot, "Autour d'une traduction." The practice of propagating Daoism through diplomatic missions during the Tang dynasty is noted in T. H. Barrett's *Taoism under the T'ang: Religion & Empire during the Golden Age of Chinese History* (London: The Wellsweep Press, 1996): 22–23.

130. *Ji gujin fodao lunheng* [*shilu*], T. 2104: 386b.24–387b.2; and *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2060: 455b.15–455c.10.

131. Although the translation project, despite Xuanzang's opposition, begun on the emperor's orders, it was, from the start, marred by a dispute over the correct ways to render Daoist terms and concepts into Sanskrit. For details about this debate between Xuanzang and his Daoist counterparts, see Pelliot "Autour d'une traduction," 389–415. Pelliot concludes that the text, despite the linguistic bickering, was eventually translated into Sanskrit. P. C. Bagchi not only accepts this view but also suggests that the translated text was introduced to the followers of mystical Buddhism in India. Consequently, he proposes, the Daoist doctrines prompted the development of a new school of Indian Buddhism called Sahajayāna, which emphasized the realization of true nature through meditation, breathing exercises, and other physical activities. See Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *India and China: A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations*, 2nd rev. ed. (Calcutta: Saraswat Library, 1981): 252–254. The Song Buddhist historian Zanning, however, reports that the argument over the use of appropriate Sanskrit terms

resulted in the failure of the project. See *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 879c.11–14. See also Sun Xiushen's essay in which he concludes that the text remained untranslated. Sun, "Jiamoluguo Tongzi wang qing Laozi xiang ji '*Daode jing*,'" in *Wang Xuance shiji gouchen*, 117–122.

132. Taizong was particularly struck by the deaths of the scholar-official Gao Shilian in the first lunar month of the twenty-first year of the Zhenjuan period (February-March 647), and a year later the Secretariat Director Ma Zhou. See *Zizhi tongjian*, 198: 6244; 6252.

133. See Chen Tsu-lung, "On the 'Hot-spring Inscription' Preserved by a Rubbing in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris," *T'oung Pao* 46.1–2 (1958): 376–396.

134. Chen, "On the 'Hot-spring Inscription,'" 387. Wang Yongping has recently argued that the Tang emperors' interest in life-prolonging drugs and physicians was not related to their desire to live forever. Rather, Wang contends, the Tang rulers took the longevity drugs to cure simple medical symptoms such as headaches, convulsions, and dietary problems. See Wang Yongping, "Shi shi Tangdai zhudi duo er danyao zhi mi," *Lishi yanjiu* 4 (1999): 179–182.

135. Weinstein, *Buddhism*, 25.

136. Weinstein, *Buddhism*, 26.

137. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T. 2053: 259a.1–11.

138. *Zizhi tongjian*, 200: 6303. See also *Youyang zazu* 7: 57; and Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 50.

139. *Jiu Tang shu*, 84: 2799. See also Pelliot, "Autour d'une traduction," 353 and 375–377; and Forte, "Hui-chih," 109.

140. *Zizhi tongjian*, 200: 6303; and *Cefu yuangui*, 46: 525a.

141. *Cefu yuangui*, 46: 525a-b.

142. *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2066: 2a.1–2.

143. *Tang hui yao*, 51a: 1040–1041; *Xin Tang shu*, 221a: 6239; and *Zizhi tongjian*, 201: 6356. Yijing reports that Xuanzhao on his way to Kaśmīr encountered a Tang envoy who was escorting Lokāditya to China. The envoy requested Xuanzhao to go to the kingdom of Luocha (Latā?) in West India and collect longevity drugs, also presumably for the emperor. The monk, according to Yijing, traveled to Latā, obtained the drugs, and then proceeded to South India. From there, probably through seafaring traders, he sent the drugs to China. See *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2066: 2a.8–10.

144. Chinese sources record that the Brahman was from the Wucha/Wuchang kingdom bordering Little Palūr and Kapiśa. Forte rightly identifies the kingdom as Uḍḍiyāna in northern India. Forte also discusses in detail the physician's activities in China. See Forte, "Hui-chih," 109 ff.

145. *Zizhi tongjian*, 201: 6356; *Jiu Tang shu* 84: 2799; and Forte, "Hui-chih," 110. There are a few interesting Buddhist twists to Lokāditya's activities in China. The Brahman physician is reported to have shared quarters with a monk from Sri Lanka named Shijiamiduoluo (Śākyamitra?, 569–?) at the Penglai Palace, a seemingly Daoist institution in charge of concocting longevity drugs and tech-

niques. The Sri Lankan monk, as pointed out in Chapter 2, was one of the many South Asian pilgrims who visited Mount Wutai, the purported Chinese abode of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In addition, the Sogdian monk Fazang (643–712) and the China-born Indian Huizhi seem to have approached Lokāditya to receive Buddhist precepts. In case of Fazang, the monk had requested bodhisattva precepts from the Brahman. He was turned down, however, as he was deemed overqualified. Only Heaven, Fazang was told, had the power to bestow the bodhisattva precepts upon him. For Śākyamitra's connection with Lokāditya, see Fazang, *Huayan jing zhuanji*, T. 2073: 169c. 23–26. The record of Fazang seeking bodhisattva precepts from a longevity doctor can be found in Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏ ng taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn*, T. 2054: 283b.12–17. See Forte, "Hui-chih," 111–112. Forte, however, makes an error in proposing that the precepts were in fact conferred on Fazang. I would like to thank Chen Jinhua for calling to my attention these connections Lokāditya seem to have had with contemporary Buddhist monks in China.

146. *Zizhi tongjian*, 211: 6718; and Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 182–183.

147. *Jiu Tang shu*, 14: 431–432; and *Tang hui yao*, 52a:1053–1054.

148. *Jiu Tang shu*, 15: 471; and Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 182.

149. See Ho Ping-yü and Joseph Needham, "Elixir Poisoning in Mediaeval China," *Janus* 48 (1959): 221–251.

150. See Arvind Sharma, *The Philosophy of Religion: A Buddhist Perspective* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995): 154.

151. Translated by Maurice Walshe in *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1996): 403. There are at least two extant Chinese translations of this text. The first, *Lunzhuan shengwang xiuxing jing* (T. 1: 39a.21-42b.19), was translated by Fotuoyeshe (Buddhayaśas?) and Zhufonian in 413. The second translation was completed under the Song dynasty (960–1279) by Shihu (Dānapāla) with the title *Foshuo daji famen jing* (T. 12).

152. For healing practices and medical healers in the Buddhist context, see Kenneth G. Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in Buddhist Monastery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). See also Phyllis Granoff's "Cures and Karma II: Some Miraculous Healings in the Indian Buddhist Story Tradition," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 85 (1998): 285–304.

153. See Raoul Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha* (rev. ed., Boulder: Shambhala, 1989), esp. Chapter 1 and Appendix 5; and Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing*, esp. Chapter 4.

154. Birnbaum, "Seeking Longevity," 144.

155. Birnbaum, "Seeking Longevity," 144–145.

156. Liu Xie, *Miehuo lun* (To Dispel Errors) in *Hongming ji*, T. 2102:49c–51c. Translated in Livia Kohn's *Laughing at the Tao*, 171.

157. There was at least one occasion, however, when a monk (*seng*) named Huzhao is reported to have concocted a longevity drug for Empress Wu. See *Zizhi tongjian*, 206: 6546.

158. On Indian ideas on immortality and alchemy, especially during the medieval period, see David Gordon White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Tradition in Medieval India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

159. White, *The Alchemical Body,* 186

160. See Introduction.

161. In fact, the possibility of a link between Emperor Ming's dream, the glowing figure of the Buddha, and the search for immortality has already been noted by Wu Hung. See his "Buddhist Elements," 264–266.

162. One of the most fascinating notices about the presence of Brahmans and their attempt to proselytize Brahmanism in China is found in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan.* Huijiao, in the biography of the Chinese monk Daorong, records of a Sri Lankan Brahman who wanted to transmit Brahmanical doctrines into China during the time of Emperor Yaoxing (r. 397–418) of the Later Qin dynasty. Learning about Kumārajīva's successful "propagation of Buddhism" in China, the Brahman is supposed to have remarked, "If the winds of Śākya can spread into China, then how come we can't convert the Eastern Kingdom?" Thus, carrying Brahmanical texts with him, the Brahman is said to have arrived in China and challenged Buddhist monks to conduct a debate with him. Aware of the Brahman's skills, Kumārajīva, according to Huijiao, selected one of his best disciples called Daorong to debate the challenger. In order to prepare for the debate, Daorong purportedly prepared a list of Brahmanical works the Sri Lankan had studied and "memorized them all in a short time." During the debate, Daorong quoted extensively from Brahmanical works and, according to Huijiao, "ultimately emerged victorious." See Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan,* T. 2059: 363c.3–24.

163. See Victor H. Mair, "The Biography of Hua-t'o from *History of the Three Kingdoms,*" in *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature,* ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 688, n. 1. For Chen Yinque's initial study of Huatuo, see his "*Sanguo zhi* Caochong Huatuo zhuan yu fojiao gushi," in *Chen Yinque shixue lunwen xuanji,* ed. Chen Yinque (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992): 36–40.

164. *Sui shu* 34 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971): 1047–1048.

165. White identifies three different Nāgārjunas in the history of Indian alchemy: the second-century Mādhyamika philosopher, a early-seventh-century contemporary of Xuanzang, and the ninth-century alchemical author who is mentioned in the work of the Muslim traveler Alberuni. Although White says that the seventh-century Nāgārjuna did not leave any "alchemical works for the posterity," the titles found in the Sui shu seem to suggest that some of his works were translated into Chinese. See White, *The Alchemical Body,* 66–77.

166. See Tansen Sen, "Gautama Zhuan: An Indian Astronomer at the Tang Court," *China Report: A Journal of East Asian Studies* 31.2 (1995): 197–208.

167. See Forte, *Political Propaganda,* "Appendix: The Indian Translators of the Ratnamegha Sūtra." See also Forte's "The Activities in China of the Tantric

Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei: ?–721 A.D.) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators," *East and West* 34.1–3: 301–347.

168. See S.K. Chatterji, "India and China: Ancient Contacts, What India Received from China," *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta* 1.1 (1959): 89–122; and Bagchi, *India and China,* 247–254.

169. *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* T. 2060: 437c.5–8. See also Antonino Forte, "'Daiungkyō shō o megutte," in *Tonkō to Chūgoku bukkyō,* ed. Makita Tairyō and Fukui Fumimasa (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), 173–206; and Chen Jinhua, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics* (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, forthcoming): 70–71, and n. 70.

170. White, *The Alchemical Body,* 61–64.

171. On the Chinese concept of Tianxia and its implications on Sino-foreign relations, see the contributions in *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations,* ed. John King Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968). Missing in this work, however, is a discussion on India's place in the Chinese world order.

172. Chou Yi-liang translates "*fanhu*" as "Tibetan or Central-Asiatic." It seems, however, that Vajrabodhi is highlighting an ethnic, rather than geographical, difference between him and other foreign monks in China. See Chou, "Tantrism in China," 278.

173. *Song gaoseng zhuan,* 2061: 711c.2–5. Chou Yi-liang suggests three reasons that may have, in 740, provoked Xuanzong to issue the edict expelling foreign monks from China. The use of Buddhism by Empress Wu to legitimize her usurpation of the Tang dynasty in 690 (see the next chapter), according to Chou, prompted Xuanzong to maintain strict control over the Buddhist community. Xuanzang was also appalled by the fact that his own wife, Empress Wang, contemplated following the example of Empress Wu. Finally, shortly before the edict deporting foreign monks from China was issued, a Buddhist monk named Baohua seems to have conspired with a rebel to overthrow the Tang dynasty. See Chou, "Tantrism in China," 320.

174. *Xu gaoseng zhuan,* T. 2060: 438b.16. The translation here is from Yang Jidong's article "Replacing *hu* with *fan*: A Change in the Chinese Perception of Buddhism during the Medieval Period." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21.1 (1998): 161. Yang suggests that during the sixth and seventh centuries the word *hu* ("barbarian") in Chinese Buddhist literature was replaced by a more pleasant term *fan* ("peaceful"; often used to transcribe the Sanskrit word "*brahmā*"). Thus, for example, the word *huben* (lit. "barbarian texts"), used to designate Indic texts, was changed to "*fanben.*" This substitution, Yang contends, not only assisted the Chinese clergy portray India as a unique and civilized society, but also demonstrated the process of domestication of Buddhism in China. "By using *fan* to designate whatever was related to Buddhism in China," Yang writes, "the Chinese were more at ease to accept Indian thought as a part of their own culture." See "Replacing *hu* with *fan,*" 167. For a contending

view about the use and changes in the employment of the *hu* and *fan*, see Daniel Boucher, "On *Hu* and *Fan* Again: The Transmission of 'Barbarian' Manuscripts to China," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 23.1 (2000): 7–28. Boucher argues that the use of word *hu* for Indic texts was purely for technical reasons and had no derogatory connotations to either the Buddhist adherents or their critics in China. From the statements of Yancong and Vajrabodhi it seems, however, that the Indians and Buddhist exegetes were cognizant about the pejorative implications of the word *hu*, and preferred to disassociate India from other non-Chinese states and tribes.

Chapter Two

1. The Three Jewels in China, as Stephen Teiser has explained, "did not simply represent a formulaic refuge of faith. In China the 'Three Jewels' also referred to the material objects that had value in the Buddhist religion: statues, halls, and reliquaries in temples constituted the Jewel of the Buddha; texts and divinatory instruments were Jewels of the Dharma; and temple lands, lodgings, and resident farmers constituted 'permanent property of the Sangha.'" See *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, 66.

2. See Liu, *Silk and Religion*, Chapter 1.

3. For an excellent study of relic veneration in southern Asia and its intended functions, see Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Rituals, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

4. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* in Maurice Walshe trans., *The Long Discourses of the Buddha*, 275–276.

5. This argument is based on the reinterpretation of a section in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* that precedes the account of Buddha's nirvāṇa. In responding to Ānanda's (one of the leading disciples of the Buddha) question to his master regarding what his followers are to do with his dead body, the Buddha is noted to have said that they need not bother with "*sarīra-pūjā*" and instead leave it to the laity. This response had been taken as Buddha's injunction prohibiting the members of the monastic community from venerating his remains. Rejecting the prohibition interpretation, Gregory Schopen has argued that the term *sarīra-pūjā* in this context means "funeral ceremony" and not the "veneration of the remains of the Buddha." It appears, Schopen writes, "that all those activities which we associate with an ongoing relic cult did not—for the author of our text (i.e., the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*)—form a part of *sarīra-pūjā*, and that *sarīra-pūjā* was used to refer only to funeral activities that began with the wrapping of the body and ended with cremation and constructing a *stūpa* and had—like the injunction as a whole—nothing to do with relics." See Gregory Schopen, "Monks and the Relic Cult in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*: An Old Misunderstanding in Regard to Monastic Buddhism," in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion in Honour of Prof. Jan Yün-hua*, ed. Koichi Shino-

hara and Gregory Schopen (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991): 191. See also Trainor, *Relics, Rituals, and Representation,* Chapter 2.

6. Trainor, *Relics, Rituals, and Representation,* 62–63.

7. Trainor, *Relics, Rituals, and Representation,* Chapters 3 and 4. See also Alice Greenwald, "The Relic on the Spear: Historiography and the Saga of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī," in *Religion and Legitimization of Power in Sri Lanka,* ed. Bardwell L. Smith (Chambersburg: Anima Books, 1978): 15–16.

8. Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China,* 1: 277.

9. *Chu sanzang ji ji,* T. 2145: 96a.1–29. The story is retold in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan,* T. 2059: 325b.10–c.5. The latter record is translated in Robert Shih's *Biographies des moines éminents ("Kao seng tchouan") de Houei-kiao* (Louvain: Institut otientaliste, Bibliothèque de l'universite, 1968): 20–23.

10. Tsukamoto, *A History of Early Chinese Buddhism,* 1: 155. See also Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China,* 1: 52 and 278; and Koichi Shinohara, "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi, the Fourth Patriarch of the Tiantai Tradition," in *Speaking of Monks: Religious Biography in India and China,* eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1992), Appendix: Stories about Asoka images.

11. Zürcher has listed ten texts telling the story of King Aśoka that were circulating in China at this time; all but one have since been lost. The only extant translation of the Aśoka legend from this period is the *Ayu wang zhuan* (*Aśokarājāvadāna,* T.2042) attributed to the Parthian monk An Fajin. Another translation, a slightly longer version called *Ayu wang jing* (*Aśokarājā Sūtra,* T. 2043), was made by Sengjiapoluo (Saṃghabhara?) in 512. See Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China,* 2: 423, n. 162. John Strong has pointed out that these two Chinese translations are versions of the second-century Aśoka legend found in *Divyāvadāna.* See Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka,* 16.

12. The earliest surviving Chinese version of this famous text dates from 290, a translation made by Dharmarakṣa. One of the more popular renditions of the text was completed by Kumārajīva in 406. For an English translation of Kamārajīva's version, see Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma (The Lotus Sūtra)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

13. *Jin'guangming jing,* T. 663: 353c.21–354a.17. Dharmakṣema is reported to have translated this work during the Northern Liang period.

14. S. 2051, attributed to monk Tanjing. This apocryphal text has been studied and partially translated by Whalen W. Lai in his "The Earliest Folk Buddhist Religion in China: T'i-wei Po-li Ching and Its Historical Significance," in *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society: Buddhist and Taoist Studies II,* ed. David W. Chappell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987): 11–35. The important function of apocryphal/indigenous texts in diffusing Buddhist doctrines into the Chinese society is discussed in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha,* ed. Robert E. Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990). The role of such texts is also highlighted in Chün-Fang Yü's study of the transmission and subsequent popularity of the Avalokiteśvara (Ch. Guanyin) cult in China. See

Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), Chapter 3.

15. Koichi Shinohara has done detailed research on the records of Aśoka images and *stūpas* discovered in China. See the following articles by him: "Guanding's Biography of Zhiyi"; "Two Sources of Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Stupa Inscriptions and Miracle Stories," in *Monks and Magicians: Religious Biographies in Asia*, eds. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1988): 119–228; "*Ji shenzhou sanbao gantonglu*: Some Exploratory Notes," in *Kalyana Mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Feliciation Volume*, ed. V. N. Jha (Delhi: Indian Book Center, 1991): 203–224; and "Changing Roles for Miraculous Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhism: A Study of the Miracle Image Section in Daoxuan's 'Collected Records,'" in *Images, Miracles, and Authority in Asian Religious Traditions*, ed. Richard H. Davis (Colorado: Westview Press, 1998): 141–188.

16. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2059: 409b.17–25.

17. For a recent study of Emperor Wu's Buddhist activities, see Andreas Janousch, "The Emperor as Bodhisattva: The Bodhisattva Ordination and Ritual Assemblies of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph P. McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 112–149.

18. For a detailed study of this episode, see Shinohara, "Two Sources," 154–181.

19. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 1: 280.

20. See Janousch, "The Emperor as Bodhisattva."

21. One of the most comprehensive studies on Emperor Wen's veneration and political use of Buddhist relics is Chen's *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*.

22. See Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973): 196–201; Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty: The Unification of China, A.D. 581–617* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), Chapter 5; and Chen, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*.

23. Narendrayaśas's biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* notes that the monk was originally from a Kṣatriya family in Uḍḍiyāna. He is reported to have reached China in the seventh year of the Tianbao reign era (556) of the Northern Zhou dynasty. See Daoxuan, *Xu gaoseng zhuan* T. 2060: 432a–433b. Narendrayaśas's biography is also found in Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai sanbao ji* T. 2034: 102c.20–103a.8 On Narendrayaśas's role in interpolating the translations, see E. Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight.' Messianism and Eschatology in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *T'oung Pao* 68.1–3 (1982): 25–26; and Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, 133.

24. *Bianzheng lun*, T. 2110: 509a.17–18.

25. *Zongjing mulu*, T. 2146: 149a.20–21.

26. The relic-distribution activities during the Renshou period seem to have been organized with the aim to strengthen Emperor Wen's image as an ideal Buddhist ruler, on par with King Aśoka. They may have been also linked to the emperor's ambition to expand his territories into central and eastern Asia. These

three episodes of relic-distribution and the possible imperialistic motives associated with them are examined in detail by Chen Jinhua in *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 63–71.

27. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, 135. The original instructions are included in Daoxuan's *Guang Hongming ji*, T. 2103: 213b.5–23.

28. See Chen, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*. Chen cites a passage from the preface to *Sheli Ganying ji*, found in Daoxuan's *Guang Hongming ji* (T. 2103: 213b.26–27), in which these relics are reported to have been presented to Emperor Wen by an Indian monk before the reunification of China in 589. Chen also points to a contradictory passage in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T.2060: 667c.25–28), where these relics are noted to have been miraculously obtained by the emperor, his empress, and other members of royal family. See *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 53–54, and 181. Both these stories fit the general pattern in which the purported remains of the Buddha were authenticated in China.

29. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 408c.10–19.

30. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2060: 668b.9–18. See also Chen, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 71.

31. *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2060: 437c.5–8. See also Forte, "Daiunkyō shō o megutte," 197–198; and Chen, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 70–71. Chen points out that the work *Sheli rui tu jing* may have been closely related to *Sheli ganying ji*. An English translation of the preface to the latter text can be found in Chen's *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, Appendix A.

32. *Guang Hongming ji*, T. 2103: 217a.17–19. Chen Jinhua observes that these Korean kingdoms may have been "encouraged or even coerced by the Sui government to 'request'" the relics as part of Emperor Wen's imperialistic goals. See *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 70.

33. This point has been rightly noted by Benjamin I. Schwartz in his "The Chinese Perception of World Order, Past and Present," *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968): 282.

34. Huang Chi-chiang, "Consecrating the Buddha: Legend, Lore, and History of the Imperial Relic-Veneration Ritual in the T'ang Dynasty," *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 11 (1998): 483–533.

35. Huang, "Consecrating the Buddha," 502–503.

36. An inscription entitled "Da Tang shengchao Wuyouwangsi dasheng zhenshen baota beiming" (Inscription for the jeweled *stūpa* [containing the] true body of the Great Sage at the Aśoka Monastery of the Divine Dynasty of the Great Tang), bearing a date of the thirteenth year of the Dali reign period (778), contains a story about the origin of the Famen relic. According to the inscription, the relic suddenly appeared on the palm of a Chinese monk searching for Buddhist remains. Inscribed writings on the relic indicated that it was one of the bodily remains of the Buddha originally distributed by King Aśoka. The monk and his fellow brethren then enshrined the relic in what they called the Aśoka *stūpa*. This inscription is incorporated in the eighteenth-century collection of steles compiled by Wang Chang (1725–1806) called *Jinshi cuibian* 101: 1–7. It is

also found in Li Faliang's *Famensi zhi* (Xian: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1995): 203–207.

37. A majority of sources name the governor as Zhang Liang. A few others, however, mention him as Zhang Deliang. This person seems to be the same one as the Minister of the Bureau of Punishments Zhang Liang whose biography appears in the *Jiu Tang shu* (69: 2514–2516) and the *Xin Tang shu* (94: 3828–3829). Zhang Liang is known to have had close associations with the first two Tang emperors (before he was executed for treason in 646) and Chinese monks Zhihui (560–638) and Jinglin (565–640), two eminent Buddhists whose biographies appear in Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2060: 541.c17; 590c.12). Huang Chi-chiang suggests that Zhang, as a devout Buddhist, may have played an important role in convincing Emperor Taizong about relic veneration at Famen Monastery. Huang, "Consecrating the Buddha," 503–504; and n. 29. See also Chen, "Śarīra and Scepter: Empress Wu's Political Use of Buddhist Relics," n. 13.

38. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 406c.5–18.

39. Daoxuan reports that the public display of the relic was requested by monks Zhizong and Hongjing. The emperor accepted their petition and ordered the display of the relic only if there were appropriate auspicious signs at the site. Daoxuan notes that Zhizong, accompanied by an official from the court, arrived at the Monastery and waited five days before he finally witnessed auspicious lights emitting from the crypt. But, when the monk entered the crypt to retrieve the original relic, he miraculously obtained not one but a total of eight relics. One of these relics is supposed to have been shaped like a small finger, quadrangular, and about one-inch in length. See *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 406c.23–407b.5.

40. See Chen, "Śarīra," 5.

41. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 407b.10–c.11.

42. There are very few Tang records from the Monastery itself that offer clear description of the Famen relic. I know of only one Tang-dynasty inscription that seems to suggest that the relic housed at Famen Monastery was a finger bone. This inscription entitled "Fogu bei" (Inscription [on] the Buddha's Bone) was authored by Zhang Zhongsu of the Hanlin Academy in the early ninth century and is no longer extant. The content of the inscription, however, has survived in Zhipan's *Fozu tongji* (T. 2035: 382a.4–9). Zhang lists the names of Tang rulers who venerated what he calls "the Buddha's phalanx" (*fo zhijie*) housed at Famen Monastery. Some of the Song authors, when detailing the events surrounding the fourth and fifth episodes of relic veneration by the Tang rulers (in 790 and 819 respectively), also use the term Buddha's finger bone (*fo zhigu*), but without much consistency. The commonly used words to describe the Famen relic during the Tang period were *fogu* (bone of the Buddha), *sheli* (relic [of the Buddha]), and *zhenshen* (true body [relic]). In other words, if the Tang rulers were indeed following a preexisting tradition of finger-bone veneration or expressed special interest in a specific type of relic, then contemporary sources fail to reflect the imperial preference.

43. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu,* T. 2106: 404a–410a.

44. Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955): 300–303. The four monasteries housing teeth relics were Xiangfu, Dazhongyan, Jianfu, and Chongsheng. The origin of some of these relics is also narrated by Ennin, "The Buddha's tooth at the Ch'ung-sheng-ssu (Chongshengsi) was brought from heaven by Prince Nata and given to the Preceptor [Tao]-hsüan (Daoxuan) of the Chung-nan (Zhongnan) Mountains. The Buddha's tooth at the Chuang-yen-ssu (Zhuangyansi) was brought from India in the flesh of a [person's] thigh. The Protector of the Law, the deity Kabira, was able to bring it. Another was brought by Fa-chieh (Fajie) Ho-shang (Heshang) from the land of Khotan, and another was brought from Tibet. So has run the tradition since early times, and at present in the city the four monasteries make offerings [to the teeth]." *Ennin's Diary,* 302.

45. These four monasteries were respectively located in Dai and Su prefectures, Zhongnan Mountain near Chang'an, and Fufeng (i.e., the Famen Monastery). Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary,* 340.

46. *Jiu Tang shu,* 2: 21.

47. *Zizhi tongjian,* 184: 5766.

48. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu,* T. 2106: 406b.26–c.5.

49. Daoxuan reports that the Qi prefecture, the site of the Famen Monastery, was one of many prefectures where Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty had had *stūpas* erected in 601. It was also the place where the Renshou Palace, one of the favorite palaces of Emperor Wen, was located. The monastery in the Qi prefecture where the Sui relic was housed was called Fengquansi, located about fifteen miles from the Famen Monastery. See *Guang Hongming ji,* T. 2103: 214b.23–c.4. The absence of a reliquary *stūpa* at the Famen Monastery before Zhang Liang's appearance on the scene has also been observed by Han Jinke in his *Famensi wenhua shi,* 2 vols. (Qishan: Wuzhou chuanbo chubanshe, 1998), 1: 190–191. On the establishment of the reliquary *stūpa* at Fengquansi and importance of Qi prefecture in the Sui context, especially the construction of the Renshou Palace, see Chen, *Śarīra, Sceptre, and Staff.*

50. See Weinstein, *Buddhism under the Tang,* 14–15.

51. It must be noted here that Zhang's visit to the Famen Monastery happened to be exactly thirty years from the time the Sui emperor had first ordered the establishment of *stūpa* at Qi and other prefectures. It is not clear if this fact played any role in formulating the practice of venerating the relic every thirty years.

52. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu,* T. 2106: 406c.8–12.

53. The contents of both these inscriptions can be found in Li's *Famensi zhi,* 195, and 203–207. See also note 36 above. Tuoba Yu was originally known as Yuan Yu. See Kegasawa Yasunori, "Famensi de qiyuan yu Tuoba Yu: Cong Famensi Bei Zhou beiwen lai fenxi," translated by Wang Weikun, *Wenbo* 2 (1997): 43–46; and 95.

54. Li Mu's biography can be found in the *Sui shu* 37: 1115–1121. Also included in this chapter are the biographies of Li Min and his father Li Chong. During the Northern Zhou period Li Mu was bestowed the suname Toba. See Kegasawa, "Famensi." The bestowal of the surname Toba to the leading officials was fairly common during the Western Wei and Northern Zhou periods. See Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames under the Western Wei-Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation," *T'oung Pao* 63.2–3 (1977): 137–177.

55. Kegasawa, "Famensi." For a detailed examinations of the activites of Li Min and Li Mu at the Famen Monastery, see Chen, "*Śarīra.*"

56. The Tang rulers descended from the non-Chinese Xianbei tribe from the steppe region. In order to legitimize their mandate to rule China, they altered their genealogy and claimed themselves as descendants of the legendary Daoist master Laozi and belonging to the Li clan of the Longxi region. On the political reasons behind the fabrication of Tang imperial genealogy, see Chen Yinque, "Tangdai zhengzhi shi shulun gao," in *Chen Yinque shixue lunwen xuanji*, ed. Chen Yinque (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 551–599.

57. The Japanese text *Eichi ni'nen Shingon'in mishihōki* points out that the goal of venerating the Buddha relics inside the imperial palace was to regenerate the health of the emperor. This idea of venerating the relics inside the palace, the text suggests, was devised by the famous Japanese monk Kūkai (774–835). In another work, the Japanese monk Kanjin (1084–1153) propounds that an increase of life span was one of the main merits a patron could attain from venerating the relics of the Buddha. Clearly, the idea of venerating the relics of the Buddha inside the palace and the implied potency of these remains in promoting the health of the emperor were transmitted from China to Japan by Kūkai in the early ninth century. The Japanese monk must have done so after learning about the relic-veneration activities at the Famen Monastery during his one-and-half year stay (c. 803–805) at the Chinese capital. On the veneration of relic in Japan and its use in promoting the emperor's health, see Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), esp. Chapter 4.

58. See Granoff, "Cures and Karma II."

59. *Zizhi tongjian* 200: 6322; and Denis Twitchett and Howard J. Wechsler, "Kao-tsung (reign 649–83) and Empress Wu: The Inheritor and the Usurper," in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 3*, ed. Twitchett and Fairbank, 255.

60. Empress Wu, by this time, seems to have taken a more keener interest in a relic discovered at the Guangzhai Quarter of the Tang capital. On the building of a reliquary *stūpa* at the site of discovery and the veneration activities surrounding this relic, see Chen, "Śarīra," 6–13.

61. On Wu Zetian's interest in Daoist longevity techniques and her attitude toward Buddhism during the later stages of her life, see Rao Zongyi (Jao Tsung-i), "Cong shike lun Wuhou zhi zongjiao xinyang," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 45 (1974): 397–412. See also Barrett, *Taoism*, 44.

62. *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn*, T. 2054:284a.1–11. In 705, the *mingtang* in Luoyang, as Antonino Forte has pointed out, was not the famous Wanxiang shenggong (Divine Palace of the Myriad Images), the site of great Buddhist ceremonies conducted under the auspices of Wu Zetian and connected to the prophecy of the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya (see later in this chapter). Rather, it was Tongtian gong (Palace to Communicate with Heaven), which was constructed at the same location in 695–696 after a fire accident destroyed the former in 694. See Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopia*, Chapter 3. For a detailed study of the veneration of Famen relic in 704–705, see Chen, "Śarīra," 19–25.

63. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopia*, 161–163.

64. This can be discerned from two inscriptions found at the Famen Monastery. The first one is titled "Tang Zhongzong xiafa ruta ming" ([Imperial] Orders Issued by the Tang [Emperor] Zhongzong to Place [the *Śarīra*] Inside the *Stūpa*) was excavated in 1978. The second called "Da Tang Xiantong qisong Qiyang zhenshen zhiwen" (Stele Inscription on the Reception and Restoration of the True Body from Qiyang [during] the Xiantong [Reign Period] of the Great Tang [Dynasty]) was found in 1987. See Li, *Famensi zhi* for the contents of these inscriptions.

65. Yan Chaoyin, "Da Tang da Jianfusi gu dade Kang Fazang dashi zhi bei," T. 2054: 280b.11–12; *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn*, T. 2054: 283b.10–11; and *Fajiezong fuzu lüeji*, *Xuzang jing* 134: 545c. See also Kamata Shigeo, "Xianshou dashi Fazang yu Famensi," in *Shoujie guoji Famensi lishi wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwen xuanji*, ed. Zhang Qizhi and Han Jinke (Xian: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992): 122–127. The Japanese version of this essay appears as "Genjū Daishi Hōjō to Hōmonji," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 38.1 (1988): 232–237.

66. *Tang Tae Ch'ŏnboksa kosaju pŏn'gyŏng taedŏk Pŏpchang hwasang chŏn*, T. 2054: 284a.2. The destruction of liver mentioned here should not be, as Chen Jinhua in a personal communication has cautioned me, taken in the literal sense. Instead, it was probably a rumor which spread among the relic worshipers and onlookers.

67. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 406c.21–22.

68. Relic veneration in 819 and 873, for example, are reported to have prompted episodes of the laity mutilating their body parts, including fingers, as offerings to the Buddha. For reports of self-mutilations in 819, see *Tang hui yao* 47: 981–984. The account in *Tang hui yao* also includes Han Yu's criticism of relic veneration by Tang rulers and the practice of self-mutilation. See Homer H. Dubs's translation in "Han Yü and the Buddha's Relic: An Episode in Medieval Chinese Religion," *Review of Religion* 11 (1946): 11–12. For accounts of relic veneration in 873, see *Xin Tang shu* 181: 5354; and *Zizhi tongjian* 252: 8165. *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2061: 857.a16–18) reports that during the Xiantong reign era (860–873) a monk called Yuanhui (819–896) burned his left thumb as an offering to the relic at the Famen Monastery. The same work (T. 2061: 858.a.16–19)

also notes that during the reign of Emperor Gaozu (936–942) of the Jin dynasty (936–946) a monk called Xichen (875?–937?) burned one of his fingers at the Monastery. These episodes at the Famen Monastery and their relevance to the practice of self-mutilation in medieval China are aptly discussed in James A. Benn's "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 37.4 (May 1998): 296–321; and in his "Burning for the Buddha: Self-immolation in Chinese Buddhism," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001). An earlier study of self-immolation in China is Jan Yün-hua's "Buddhist Self-Immolation in Medieval China," *History of Religions* 4.2 (1965): 243–268.

69. Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh." See also Jacques Gernet, "Les suicides par le feu chez les bouddhistes chinoises du Ve au Xe siècle," *Mèlanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises* 2 (1959): 528–558.

70. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu,* T. 2106: 406c.18–23.

71. Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk,* 44.

72. Cui Xuanwei, who held the title of *Fengge shilang* (Attendant Gentleman of the Phoenix Hall) and oversaw the Empress' health, is reported to have accompanied monk Fazang to the Famen Monastery with orders to welcome the relic to the imperial palace. See *Zizhi tongjian* 207: 6575. Cui Xuanwei's involvement in the process of retrieving the relic seems to be a clear indication of the connection between Wu Zetian's poor health and decision to bring the Famen relic into the palace.

73. Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha,* 31–33.

74. Emperor Xuanzong's opposition to Buddhist ceremonies and his antipathy toward Buddhist support for Empress Wu may have been responsible for the absence of relic-veneration activities at the Famen Monastery between 704 and 760.

75. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 376a.16–20. See also the inscription "Da Tang shengchao Wuyouwangsi." The latter record suggests that the veneration of the relic at the Tang palace took place in 760.

76. Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang,* 58.

77. On the contributions of these three monks to the spread of esoteric Buddhism during the Tang dyansty, see Chou, "Tantrism in China."

78. Reports on the 1987 excavation of objects from the Famen Monastery crypt include, Shaanxi sheng Famensi kaocha dui, "Fufeng Famensi ta Tangdai digong fajue jianbao," *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 1–28; Su Bai et al., "Famensi ta digong chutu wenwu bitan," *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 29–43; Kegasawa Yasunori, "Fufu Hōmonji no rekishi to genzu—Butsusai no kita dera," *Bukkyō Geijutsu* 179 (1988): 87–105. Detailed discussions on the objects, their origins, and relevance to contemporary Buddhism can be found among the essays included in *Shoujie guoji Famensi lishi wenhua* edited by Zhang Qizhi and Han Jinke.

79. Most recent and detailed discussion of the esoteric influences on the relic veneration at the Famen Monastery is *Famensi digong Tang mi mantuluo zhi yanjiu,* ed. Wu Limin and Han Jinke (Hongkong: Zhongguo fojiao wenhua chuban youxian gongsi, 1998). The topic is also discussed by Roderick Whitfield

in his "Esoteric Buddhist Elements in the Famensi Reliquary Deposit," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 44.2 (1990): 247–257; and Patricia Eichenbaum Karetzky, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Famensi Finds," *Archives of Asian Art* 47 (1994): 78–85.

80. Dubs, "Han Yü and the Buddha's Relic," 12.

81. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary,* 340.

82. *Jiu Tang shu,* 19: 683; and Dubs, "Han Yü and the Buddha's Relic," 16.

83. *Zizhi tongjian,* 252: 8165; and Dubs, "Han Yü and the Buddha's Relic," 16.

84. Chen Quanfang, Bo Ming, and Han Jinke, *Famensi yu fojiao* (Taibei: Shuiniu tushu chuban shiye youxian gongsi, 1992): 103–118.

85. *Ruyi baozhu zhanlun pimi xianshen chengfo jinlun zhou wang jing,* T. 961: 332c; and Liu, *Silk and Religion,* 43.

86. On the establishment of the Avalokiteśvara cult at Mount Putuo, see Chün-fang Yü, *Kuan-yin,* Chapter 9.

87. Useful discussion on the role of these bodhisattvas in Buddhist theology and their manifestations in China can be found in Paul Williams's *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations* (London: Routledge, 1989).

88. The obscure origins of Mañjuśrī and the possible association to Pañcaśikha were first proposed by Marcelle Lalou in *Iconographie des étoffes peintes (paṭa) dans le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930). It is also pointed out in Étienne Lamotte's "Mañjuśrī," *T'oung Pao* 48. 1–3 (1960): 1–96; and extensively discussed by Anthony Tribe in "Manjusri: Origins, Role And Significance (Parts I & II), *Western Buddhist Review* 2 (1994): 23–49. Tribe's two-part article is also available on the following website: www.westernbuddhistreview.com.

89. One of the best studies of this text is Étienne Lamotte's *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa),* translated into English by Sara Boin (London: The Pali Text Society, 1976).

90. The functions and characteristics of Mañjuśrī are detailed in Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 23–31; and Tribe, "Manjusri: Origins, Role And Significance."

91. Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 5–6. On the early Chinese versions of this text, see Étienne Lamotte, *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra: The Concentration of Heroic Progress,* translated by Sara Boin-Webb (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1998): 56–98.

92. The earliest extant translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* is by Zhi Qian, which he completed between 222 and 253. On Chinese translations of the text, see Lamotte, *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti,* xxvi–xxxvii.

93. Raoul Birnbaum has suggested that *Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇa Sūtra* may have been a work of the fifth or sixth century and deliberately attributed to an earlier translator. See "The Manifestation of a Monastery: Shen-Ying's Experiences on Mount Wu-T'ai in T'ang Context," *Journal of American Oriental Society* 106.1 (1986): 123–124.

94. For a complete translation of the text (into French), see Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 35–39. An English translation can be found in Mary Anne Cartelli, "The Poetry of Mount Wutai: Chinese Buddhist Verses from Dunhuang," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1999): 40–46.

95. The analogies between the geographical setting of Mañjuśrī's future abode described in the prophecy and Mount Wutai are discussed in Lamotte's "Mañjuśrī," 34–35; and Cartelli's, "The Poetry of Mount Wutai," 36.

96. See Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989): 197.

97. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing*, T. 278: 590a.3–5.

98. Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 73–84.

99. See, for example, Huixiang's seventh-century account of the mountain entitled *Gu Qingliang zhuan* (Ancient Records of the Clear-and-Cold [Mountain], T. 2098).

100. *Ji Shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, T. 2106: 424c.22–27. Daoxuan's complete notice is translated in Birnbaum's "The Manifestation of a Monastery," 120–121.

101. Cartelli, "The Poetry of Mount Wutai," 50.

102. Huixiang, *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, T. 2098: 1098c.18–1099b.9. Śākyamitra, as noted in the previous chapter, was also housed at the Penglai palace along with the longevity-physician Lokāditya.

103. Huiying and Hu Yaozheng, *Dafangguang fo huayan jing ganying zhuan*, T. 2074: 175b.7. The two monks are said to have lost their way on Mount Wutai, but, as Huiying and Hu Yaozheng tell us, Mañjuśrī manifested himself as a nun and came to their rescue.

104. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 770b.6–11. The pilgrimages by Indian monks to Mount Wutai during the Tang dynasty are discussed by Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 84–91; and by Richard Schneider in "Un moine Indien au Wou-t'ai chan: relation d'un pèlerinage," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 27–43. The pilgrimages of the four Indian monks mentioned here are, however, not found in Lamotte and Schneider's articles. For an extensive list of monks, both Chinese and foreign, making pilgrimage to the Mountain from the Northern Wei period to the Ming dynasty, see Du Doucheng, *Dunhuang Wutai shan wenxian jiaolu yanjiu* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991): 233–286.

105. *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T. 2125:228b.13–14.

106. The pouring of tears and the feeling of joy by Buddhapāli is similar to the expression of joy and grief expressed by Chinese pilgrims visiting sacred Buddhist sites in India (see Chapter 1, n.106). Here the same expression of grief and joy is employed not only to describe the common feelings of a pilgrim, but perhaps also to underscore the presence of legitimate sacred sites within China. For various versions of Buddhapāli's story, see n. 109 below.

107. This episode and the contents of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* (T. 967) are discussed in detail by Liu Shufen in "*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* yu Tangdai zunsheng jingchuang de jianli—jingzhong yanjiu zhi yi," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 67.1 (1996): 145–193; and "Jingchuang de xingzhi, xingzhi he laiyuan zhi er," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 68.3 (1997): 643–786.

108. The dubious nature of the story is obvious here. The reigning ruler in 683 was still Emperor Gaozong, albeit nominally. The four versions of the text translated under the auspices of Empress Wu are discussed in Chen's "Śarīra," 25–32.

109. The earliest version of this story seems to have appeared in the preface attached to the translation of the *Buddha uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* (T. 967: 349b.1–c.5). The episode is also reported in Yanyi's *Guang Qingliang zhuan* (T. 2099: 1111a–b), compiled in 1060; and Buddhapāli's biography in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 717c.15–718b.7. The popularity of this story among the pilgrims visiting the mountain during later periods is discussed in Birnbaum's "The Caves of Wu-t'ai Shan," 130–131.

110. See, for example, *Ennin's Diary*, 217 and 246; and *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T. 2099: 1114a–1115a. Yanyi's version has been translated into English by Daniel Stevenson in "Visions of Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai," in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 212–220.

111. The preface, which seems to be the original source of the Buddhapāli story, was written sometime after three other versions of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* had appeared in Chinese. The first version, *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* (T. 968), attributed to Du Xingyi, was completed in 679; and the other two translations were rendered by the Indian monk Dipokeluo (Divākara?) in 682 (*Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing*, T. 969) and 687 (*Zuisheng foding tuoluoni jing chu ye zhang chou jing*, T. 970), respectively. Not only were Du Xingyi and Divākara closely associated with the monks attempting to advance Empress Wu political agenda, the three texts, which contain an incantation to escape the realm of purgatory, may have been apocryphal. Thus, the section of the preface narrating Buddhapāli's introduction of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī* text from India, and indeed the validity of the entire episode of the Kaśmīri monk's pilgrimage to Mount Wutai is questionable. For a detailed examination of the translation of these versions of *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī*, see Chen, "Śarīra," 25–32.

112. Forte, "Hui-chih," 118.

113. See Forte, *Political Propaganda*; and Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 44–45.

114. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing*, T. 279: 241b.20–23.

115. *Ennin's Diary*, 237; and Cartelli, "The Poetry of Mount Wutai," 27.

116. See Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 177, n. 20.

117. Birnbaum, "The Manifestation of a Monastery," 124. The original passage is from T. 1185A: 791b.24–c.19. Translation of the text is also given in Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī: A Group of East Asian Maṇḍalas and Their Traditional Symbolism* (Boulder: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions, 1983): 11–13.

118. Lamotte, "Mañjuśrī," 90–91.

119. *Ennin's Diary*, 240, 266, and 268. Ennin also reports that he had learned about three Indian monks from the Nālandā Monastery who had visited the Mountain in 839. See *Ennin's Diary*, 217–218, and 228.

120. *Guang Qingliang zhuan*, T. 2099: 1109a.29.

121. See Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*, 30. Orlando Raffaello has explained that Amoghavajra chose to highlight the importance of Mañjuśrī "in order to emphasize the fact that the Tantric school shared a common philosophical heritage with the other, older Mahāyāna schools in China, thus making Tantrism seem less alien and remote to Chinese Buddhism." See Raffaello, "A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra (A.D. 705–774)," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981): 27, n. 43.

122. On Amoghavajra's memorial to Emperor Daizong seeking funds to (re-)construct this temple, see Raffaello, "A Study of Chinese Documents," 56–61. Raffaello's work includes translations of other memorials from Amoghavajra and related Imperial edicts concerning the veneration of Mañjuśrī.

123. Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*, 30–38.

124. Yuanzhao, *Taizong chao zeng sigong dabian zheng guangzhi sanzang heshang shang biaozhi ji*, T. 2120: 841c.8–19. Raffaello, "A Study of Chinese Documents," 73.

125. Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*, 34.

126. It must be noted here that Amoghavajra's teacher Vajrabodhi, as pointed out in the previous chapter, is reported to have come to China especially to pay obeisance to Mañjuśrī. See *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, T. 2157: 876a.13–22.

127. Chen, *Making and Remaking History*, 27–28, n. 12.

128. Birnbaum, *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī*, 31.

129. An excellent study of Hanguang's activities at Mount Wutai and his role in the tale of reverse transmission of Buddhist doctrines is Jinhua Chen's *Making and Remaking History*, Chapter 2. Although Hanguang's biography in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* fails to give his place of birth and essentially describes him as a Chinese native (T. 2061: 879b.14), other sources list him as an Indian monk. The reason for this confusion in the nationality of Hanguang may have resulted from the fact that he had accompanied Amoghavajra to India and then returned to China. The sources that list him as an Indian apparently failed to take into account the monk's departure from China in 741.

130. Zhanran, *Fahua wenju ji*, T. 1719: 359c.13–17. The translation here is by Jinhua Chen in *Making and Remaking History*, 26.

131. Chen, *Making and Remaking History*, 26–39.

132. *Fayuan zhulin*, T. 2122: 1012.c16–27.

133. See Liu Shufen, "'*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*,'" 166.

134. *Jiu Tang shu*, 196b: 5266. See also Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa: une controverse sur le quiétisme entre bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIIIe siècle*

de l'ère chrétienne (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1952): 188, n.1; and 376–377.

135. On the late development of the Mañjuśrī imagery in India, see David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, 2 vols. (Boston: Shambhala, 1987), 1: 314; and Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 240–241.

136. A. Foucher, *Étude l'iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900), 2:114–115. See also S. K. Saraswati, *Tantrayāna Art: An Album* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1977): 79–80, 85.

137. See Takata Tokio, "Multilingualism in Tun-huang," *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 78 (2000): 53 and 57. The Indian monk who participated in the writing of this formulary was called Devaputra. See Joseph Hackin in *Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain du Xe siècle* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1924). For the Sanskrit-Khotanese text, see H. W. Bailey, "Hvatanica III," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9.3 (1938): 521–543; and Kumamoto Hiroshi, "Saiiki ryokōshayō Sansukuritto-Kōtango kaiwa renshūchō," *Seinan Ajia kenkyū* 28 (1988): 52–82. See also Rong Xinjiang, "Dunhuang wenxian suojian wan Tang, Wudai, Song chu de Zhong-Yin wenhua jiaowang," in *Ji Xianlin jiaoshou bashi huadan jinian lunwen ji*, 2 vols. ed. Li Zheng et al., (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), 2: 955–968.

138. Translated in Bailey, "Hvatanica III," 528–529.

139. For urban decay in northern India and its consequences, see Chapter 4.

140. Étienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era*, translated by Sara Boin-Webb (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1988): 192.

141. One of the best studies on the Buddhist prophecy of the disappearance of the doctrine is Jan Nattier's *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Asian Humanities Press, 1991). Mainstream (non-Mahāyāna) views on the topic are discussed in Steven Collins, *Nirvana and other Buddhist Felicities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Chapter 5. See also Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 191–202; David W. Chappell, "Early Forebodings of the Death of Buddhism." *Numen* 27 (1980): 122–153; and more recently Jamie Hubbard, *Absolute Delusion, Perfect Buddhahood: The Rise and Fall of a Chinese Heresy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001): 36–54.

142. On the concept of seven jewels, see Chapter 4, n.10.

143. Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 14; and Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities*, 361–373.

144. Hubbard, *Absolute Delusion*, Chapter 2.

145. Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 28–29.

146. *Vinaya, Cullavagga* X: 1.6. Translated by Henry Clarke Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (repr. New York: Atheneum, 1968): 447; cited in Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 28–29. See also Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996): 97.

147. For a detailed study of various versions of the Kauśāmbī prophecy, see Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, Chapters 7–10.

148. See Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 150–157.

149. Lamotte notes that some of these events transpired in the last two centuries before the Common Era, starting with Demetrius's conquest of Gandhāra, Punjab, and the Indus Valley in 189, followed by the two invasions of central India by Greek armies led by Apollodotus and Menander in 189 and 169 resepectively, and the entry of Śaka forces of Maues into Taxila in the year 90. See *History of Indian Buddhism*, 201.

150. Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 155–156.

151. See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Sub-Continent before the Coming of the Muslims* (New York: Grove Press, 1959): 274; Joseph M. Kitagawa, "The Many Faces of Maitreya: A Historian of Religions' Reflections," in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, eds. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 10; and Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Thatāgata Maitreya," in *Maitreya*, 3 and 80, n.2.

152. Personal communication, April 10, 2001. For the general Indo-Iranian background of the Mithra and Maitreya cults as well as their developments elsewhere in Eurasia, see Soho Machida, "Life and Light, the Infinite: A Historical and Philological Analysis of the Amida Cult," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 9 (December 1988): 1–46.

153. Romila Thapar, "Millenarianism and Religion in Early India," in *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*, ed. Romila Thapar (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000): 955.

154. The name Ajita ("unconquerable") is equated by Lamotte as Invictus, indicating again the possible Persian-Greek influence on the concept of Maitreya. See *History of Indian Buddhism*, 705.

155. See Jaini, "Stages in the Bodhisattva." Early Buddhist texts, however, report that Ajita and Maitreya were co-disciples of a Brahman ascetic called Bāvari and were later converted by the Buddha. Others note of Buddha's prediction that Ajita would be reborn as the *cakravartin* King Śaṇkha before the arrival of Maitreya. See Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 699–710.

156. Jan Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: a Typological Analysis," in *Maitreya*, 25–32.

157. There is a vast amount of literature on the topic of messianic movements associated with Buddhist prophecies regarding Maitreya's imminent advent. See, for example, E. Zürcher, "Eschatology and Messianism in Early Chinese Buddhism," in *Leyden Studies in Sinology: Papers Presented at the Conference Held in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sinological Institute of Leyden University, December 8–12, 1980*, ed. W. L. Idema (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981): 34–56; and Zürcher, 'Prince Moonlight.' For later episodes, see Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); and B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (repr., Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

158. For Daoist messianic views and rebellions during the Han dynasty, see Anna K. Seidel, "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hung," *History of Religions* 9.2–3 (1969–1970): 216–247; and Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 2–6.

159. See David Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions: The Formative Age," *The American Historical Review* 104.2 (December 1999): 1513–1530; and Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins,* 100–110.

160. Maitreya cult in the oasis states of Central Asia is discussed by Yu Min Lee in "The Maitreya Cult and Its Art in Early China," (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1983).

161. One such text, called *Guan Mile Pusa shangsheng doushuaitian jing* (Visualization of the Maitreya Buddha Ascending the Tuṣita Heaven, T. 452) was translated in the mid-fifth century by Juqu Jingsheng, a prince of the Northern Liang kingdom. *Gaoseng zhuan* (T. 2059: 37a.4–15) reports that Juqu Jingsheng was a younger brother of Juqu Mengxun, the founder of the Northern Liang kingdom and an avid supporter of Buddhist doctrines. Juqu Jingsheng in his youth is known to have traveled to Khotan to study Buddhism. On his way back to China, he obtained texts on visualizing Maitreya and Mañjuśrī from the Turfan region. See also Lee, "The Maitreya Cult," 45–47, 243.

162. Lee, "Maitreya Cult," Chapters 3 and 4.

163. Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 13–14.

164. See Tsukamoto Zenryū, *Shina bukkyō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōbundō shobō, 1944): 247–285.

165. Ownby, "Chinese Millenarian Traditions," 1526.

166. T. 535: 819b.1–5. See also Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest,* 1: 315 and 2: 437–438, n. 130; and Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 23–24.

167. For a detailed study of rebellions associated with the Maitreya/Chandraprabha cult during the Tang and Song periods, see Shigematsu Toshiaki, "Tō-Sō jidai no Miroku kyōhi," *Shien* 3 (1931): 68–103. See also, Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias,* 24–36.

168. Messianic movements from Song through to the Qing periods and the formation of the White Lotus Society are discussed in Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*; ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings*; and Susan Naquin, *Millenarian Rebellion in China: The Eight Trigrams Uprising of 1813* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

169. Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964): 178.

170. *Foshuo Dehu zhangzhe jing,* T. 545: 849b.22–c.4. See also Zürcher, 'Prince Moonlight,' 25–26.

171. On the significance of the Alms-bowl and its connection to Chinese veneration of Buddhist relics, see Kuwayama Shōshin, "The Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra and Relevant Problems," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Foundazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore,*

Venice, ed. Maurizio Taddei (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990): 2: 945–978; and the excellent study by Françoise Wang-Toutain entitled "Le bol du Buddha: Propagation du bouddhisme et légitimité politique," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 81 (1994): 59–82.

172. Zürcher, "'Prince Moonlight,'" 26. See also Wang-Toutain, "Le bol du Buddha," 75–78.

173. Empress Wu's mother was the granddaughter of Yang Da, a paternal cousin of Emperor Wen. The parallels in the use of Buddhism for political goals by these two Chinese rulers are outlined in Chen's *Sarīra, Sceptre, and Staff*, 71–80.

174. On Wu Zetian's rise to power, see R.W.L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien*, Chapter 3. An overview of the role of Maitreya veneration in Tang politics can be found in Wang Juan's "Tangdai Mile xinyang yu zhengzhi guanxi de yi cemian: Tangchao huangshi dui Mile xinyang de taitu," *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 4 (1991): 288–296.

175. Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien*, 20.

176. Richard W. L. Guisso, "The Reigns of the Empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung (684–712)," in *Cambridge History of China, Volume 3*, eds. Twitchett and Fairbank, 291–292.

177. Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 41. On Wu Zetian's use of Buddhism in legitimizing her reign, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*; Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien*, and Chen Yinque, "Wuzhao yu fojiao," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 5 (1932): 137–147.

178. Guisso, "The Reigns of Empress Wu," 300.

179. A summary of this text is given in Forte's *Political Propaganda*, 271–280. See also Forte's recent article "The Maitreyist Huaiyi (D. 695) and Taoism," *Tang yanjiu* 4 (1998): 15–29.

180. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, 32–36.

181. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, 253–254.

182. An excellent study of the Dunhuang manuscript of the text (S. 6502) and the monks who compiled it is Forte's *Political Propaganda*. A shorter version of the text (S. 2658) is translated in Guisso's *Wu Tse-T'ien*.

183. In the Taishō edition, the title of this text appears as *Dafangdeng wuxiang jing* (*Mahāvaipulya asamjña/alakṣaṇa Sūtra*?). It is summarized in Forte's *Political Propaganda*, Appendix A.

184. A summary of the text translated by Dharmakṣema is given in Forte's *Political Propaganda*, 253–270.

185. *Zizhi tongjian*, 204: 6466.

186. *Zizhi tongjian*, 205: 6497.

187. *Baoyu jing*, T. 660:284b.17–22, translated in Forte's *Political Propaganda*, 130.

188. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, 18.

189. *Xin Tang shu*, 4: 95; and *Zizhi tongjian*, 205: 6502.

190. The complete translation of the colophon can be found in Forte's *Political Propaganda*, 171–176.

191. Forte, "Hui-Chih," 125.

192. Antonino Forte, "The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei:?–721 A.D.) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators," *East and West* 34.1–3 (1984): 301–347.

193. A list of Indian nationals present in Chang'an during the Tang period can be found in Ge Chengyong's "Tang Chang'an Yindu ren zhi yanjiu," *Tang yanjiu* 6 (2000): 303–320.

194. *Xin Tang shu,* 26: 559.

195. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Uthopias,* 24–36.

196. Forte, "Hui-chih," 127.

Chapter Three

1. See, for example, R. C. Mitra, *The Decline of Buddhism in India* (Santiniketan: Visva Bharati Press, 1954); and Kanai Lal Hazra, *The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1995).

2. See Kenneth Ch'en, "The Sale of Monk Certificates during the Sung Dynasty: A Factor in the Decline of Buddhism in China," *Harvard Theological Review* 49 (1956): 307–327.

3. Ch'en's *Buddhism in China,* for example, devotes only twenty pages, in a section titled "Decline," to Buddhism during the Song dynasty.

4. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 409c.28–410a.3.

5. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 406c.15–16.

6. See Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellscharft* 114 (1964): 360–381.

7. Peter N. Gregory, "The Vitality of Buddhism in the Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung,* eds. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Gertz, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 2. See also T. Griffith Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China,* eds. Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993): 147–197.

8. Some of the recent studies that have demonstrated the prevalence of Buddhist doctrines in the Song society include Mark Robert Halperin's "Pieties and Responsibilities: Buddhism and the Chinese Literati, 780–1280," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1997); and Edward L. Davis's *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). While the former work examines the popularity of Buddhist doctrines among the Song literati, the latter study illustrates the frequent use of esoteric Buddhist therapeutic rites and funerary rituals by the laity.

9. Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Relations between India and Sung China," *History of Religions* 6.2 (1966): 135–144.

10. Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 139.

11. Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 136–138.

12. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism,* 288.

13. Yukei Matsunaga, "Some Problems of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra,*" *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture* 5 (1972): 109–119. However, Iyanaga Nobumi, acknowledging the mediocre quality of Song translations, praises Dānapāla's translation of *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (*Foshuo yiqie rulai zhenbao she dasheng xianzheng sanmei dajiaowang jing,* T. 882). He writes: "Je tiens à souligner ici que, bien qu'on considère généralement les traductions l'époque des Sung comme d'une qualité médiocre, STTS.ch (i.e., T. 882) se révèle dans l'ensemble tout à fait digne d'éloges, à la fois fidèle au sk. (i.e., Sanskrit) et d'un style, sinon élégant, du moins le plus compréhensible possible. Il est vrai qu'en dépit des soins évidents, cette traduction reste souvent difficile à comprendre; mais cela est dû, en grande partie, à la difficulté de l'original lui-même, qui est rempli de terms techniques et d'images symboliques propres à l'ésotérisme." See Iyanaga Nobumi, "Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya—d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein, volume III,* ed. Michel Strickmann (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1985): 657.

14. John Brough, "The Chinese Pseudo-Translation of Ārya-Śūra's *Jātakamālā,*" *Asia Major,* n.s., 11.1 (1964): 27–53.

15. Brough, "The Chinese Pseudo-Translation," 39.

16. See, for example, Nakamura Kikunoshin's "Sō Denpōin yakukyo sanzō Yuijō no denki oyobi nenpu," *Bunka* 41.1–2 (1977): 1–59

17. Richard Bowring, "Brief Note: Buddhist Translations in the Northern Sung," *Asia Major,* 3d Ser., 5.2 (1992): 79–93.

18. On the status of Buddhist doctrine in other parts of South Asia during this period, see Hazra, *The Rise and Decline.*

19. See Puspa Niyogi, *Buddhism in Ancient Bengal* (Calcutta: Jijnasa, 1980). For Buddhist monasteries under the Pālas, see Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India: Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture* (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1988): esp. 344–366.

20. Niyogi, *Buddhism,* 102. The Islamic armies seem to have entered Bengal in 1202. See N. K. Bhattasali, "Two Inscriptions of Gopāla of Bengal," *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1941): 222.

21. Fan Chengda, *Jiye Xiyu xingcheng,* T. 2089: 982a.2–b.5. The text has been translated by E. Huber in "L'itinéraire du pèlerin Ki Ye dans l'Inde," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 2 (1902): 256–259. See also Édouard Chavannes, "Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gayâ," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 34 (1896): 44–45; and Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 144, n. 98.

22. See Hirananda Shastri, "The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva," *Epigraphia Indica* 17 (1924): 311–317; and Niyogi, *Buddhism,* 92.

23. George N. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmaśvāmin* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959): 90.

24. *Fanseng Zhikong chanshi zhuan kao*, T. 2089: 982b–985c. The complete text has been translated by Arthur Waley in "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 1 (1931–1932): 355–376.

25. Steven Darin, "Buddhism in Bihar from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century with Special Reference to Nālandā," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 25 (1971): 335–352.

26. *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, translated into English by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1997): 313.

27. *Tāranātha's*, 313.

28. There is also an earlier Chinese inscription at this Monastery, which Bagchi dates to circa 950. See Bagchi, *India and China*, 103–111. See also Chou Ta-fu and P. C. Bagchi, "New Lights on the Chinese Inscriptions of Bodhgayā," *Sino-Indian Studies* 1.1 (October 1944): 111–114; and S. Beal, "Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions found at Buddha Gayā," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian & Ireland* 13 (October 1881): 552–572.

29. Geri H. Malandra, "The Mahabodhi Temple," *Marg* 40.1 (1988): 21–23.

30. D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevjra Tantra: A Critical Study*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959): 1: 1.

31. Susan L. Huntington and John C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th-12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990): 84. For evidence of Pāla art in Dunhuang caves, see Ursula Toyka-Fuong, "The Influence of Pāla Art on 11th-Century Wall-Paintings of Grotto 76 in Dunhuang," in *The Inner Asian International Style 12th-14th Centuries: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, eds. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter and Eva Allinger (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998): 67–95.

32. For the state of Buddhist art in Kaśmīr during the post-eighth-century period, see Pratapaditya Pal, "Kashmiri-Style Bronzes and Tantric Buddhism," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 39 (1979): 253–273; and Pal, "Kashmir and the Tibetan Connection," *Marg* 40.2 (1989): 57–75.

33. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1: 151.

34. For a detailed study of Buddhism in Kaśmīr, see Jean Naudou, *Buddhists of Kaśmīr*, translated by Brereton and Picron (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980).

35. See Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*; Luis O. Gómez, "The Direct and the Gradual Approaches of Zen Master Mahayana: Fragments of the Teachings of Mo-ho-yen," in *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, eds. Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983) 69–167; and W. Pachow, "An Enquiry into the Sino-Indian Buddhist Debate in Tibet," in *From Benares to Beijing: Essays on Buddhism and Chinese Religion*, eds. Koichi Shinohara and Gregory Schopen (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1991): 121–128.

36. See Alaka Chattopadhyaya, *Atīśa and Tibet: Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in Relation to the History and Religion of Tibet With Tibetan Sources* (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981); Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism,* 2: 479–484; and David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Boston: Shambhala, 1995): 129–131.

37. A short, but useful, study of the early translation process in Tibet is D. Seyfort Ruegg's "Some Reflections on Translating Buddhist Philosophical Texts from Sanskrit to Tibetan," *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 46.1 (1992): 367–391.

38. Zanning, *Da Song seng shilüe,* T. 2126: 240b.19–21. In the *Song gaoseng zhuan* Zanning notes that the text was translated in the fifth year of the Yuanhe period (T.2061:722a.1–3). Zhipan, on the other hand, records that the text was translated in the sixth year (811). See T. 2035: 381b.16–17. See also Fujiyoshi Masumi, "Sōchō yakukyō shimatsu kō," *Kansai daigaku bungaku ronshū* 36.1 (1986): 399, and n. 1.

39. Reports of Chinese monks visiting India through Dunhuang and Tibet between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth centuries are found in a number of documents discovered at Dunhuang. See Rong, "Dunhuang wenxian," 955–962. Similarly, Indian monks are also known to have arrived in China in the ninth and tenth centuries. According to the *Song shi,* for example, monk Samanduo (Samantha?) and sixteen others arrived at the Later Zhou court in the third year of the Guangshun era (953). The mission presented a horse of fine breed as tribute. See Tuotuo et al., *Song shi* 490 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju): 14103.

40. For the relationship between the state and Buddhism during the reign of the first four Song emperors, see Huang Chi-chiang, "Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung," in *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China,* eds. Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-Chieh Huang (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994): 144–187; and Mark Halperin, "Buddhist Temples, the War Dead, and the Song Imperial Court," *Asia Major,* 3d ser., 12.2 (1999): 71–99.

41. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035:395b.7–10; and *Song shi,* 2: 23. The section on Tibet in *Song shi* (492: 14153) notes that in 966, the prefect of Xiliang prefecture (around present-day Wuwei, Gansu province) reported the arrival of more than two hundred Uighurs accompanied by more than sixty Chinese monks who were on their way to India to fetch Buddhist texts. The size of the contingent noted by the prefect is closer to Fan Chengda's record of three hundred monks who were dispatched to India in 964. See *Jiye Xiyu xingcheng,* T. 2089: 981c.15. Instead of three separate missions, the above notices may have been referring to a single episode. While Emperor Taizu may have given permission to more than one hundred and fifty Chinese monks to travel to India, a lesser number seems to have actually decided to make the journey. It is not clear, however, whether the two hundred Uighurs mentioned in the prefect's notice were also Buddhist monks. Most likely they were traders.

42. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 395b.7–10. See also, Huang, "Imperial Rulership," n. 28.

43. Huang, "Imperial Rulership," 172, n. 28; and Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 145, n. 99.

44. For a detailed study of the Buddhist genre of state-protection texts, see Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

45. See F. W. Mote, *Imperial China, 900–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press): 83–85.

46. Ruth W. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High: Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996): 31.

47. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 396b.22–25; *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7891a. See also Huang, "Imperial Rulership," 150 and n. 30. According to Zhao Anren and Yang Yi, the translation team at Luzhou presented three texts. Not mentioned in Zhipan's record is the short *Uṣṇīṣavijayā dhāraṇī.* See *Dazhong xiangfu fabao lu* in *Zhonghua dazangjing* (hereafter H.) 1675: 436a.9–b.8. This is the same *dhāraṇī* that was (as discussed in the previous chapter) purportedly brought to China by Buddhapāli in the seventh century.

48. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 395a.20–21, 395a.25, and 395a.29–395b.2.

49. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 398a.4–9.

50. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 398a.26–389b.1; and *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7891a-b. See also Walter Fuchs, "Zur technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften ins Chinesische," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 5.2 (1930): 84–103; and Jan Yün-hua, "Ch'uan-fa Yuan: The Imperial Institute for Transmission of Buddha-dharma in Sung China," in *Studies in Asian History and Culture*, ed. Buddha Prakash (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1970): 70–93.

51. Here Zhipan inserts an example of the process. "*Hṛdaya*," he writes, "is first transcribed as *helidiye*, and *sūtram* [is transcribed] as *sudalan*."

52. Continuing with his above example, Zhipan writes, "*Helinaye*, [in this step], is translated as *xin* [heart], [and] *sudalan* is translated as *jing* [scripture]." *Helinaye* should here read *helidiye*.

53. Again to demonstrate his point, Zhipan explains, "For example, the Translator-scribe [would] say: Viewing the five aggregates their selfness without substance [is] seen here (=Skt. *vyavalokayati sma pañcaskandhā tāṃś ca svabhāva śūnyān paśyati sma*). Now, [after the work of the Text Composer] it would say: Viewing all the five aggregates as without substance. Generally, in Sanskrit phrases, nouns are followed by verbs. For instance, 'remembering [the name of] the Buddha' is [in Sanskrit] 'Buddha[-name] remembering' (=Skt. *buddhanusmīṛti*), [and] 'ringing the bell' is [in Sanskrit] 'bell [being] rung.' Therefore, editing of words and phrases is essential in order to follow the literary [style] of this land."

54. Zhipan explains this further, "For example, [in the phrase] *wu wuming wuming* [=no ignorance, ignorance=Skt. *na avidya avidya*] there are two characters that are redundant (i.e., *wu ming*). [And] for example, in [the phrase] *shang zhengbianzhi* [=surpassed and righteous wisdom], *shang* [=surpassed] lacks the character *wu* [=un-]." By "*shang zhengbianzhi,*" Zhipan is probably referring to the Sanskrit word *anuttarāṃ.*

55. Here Zhipan explains, "the sentence 'saving all suffering' in the *Heart sūtra* did not exist in the original Sanskrit text; and the original Sanskrit edition did not have the word 'therefore' in the sentence 'therefore in emptiness. . . .'" See *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 398b.2–19; and *Song huiyao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7891b. For variant translations, see Jan, "Chuan-fa yuan," 84–85; and Bowring, "Buddhist Translations," 91. For an examination of the Song translation process and its comparison to previous techniques, see Fuchs, "Zur technischen," 100–103.

56. Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan,* T.2059: 332a.

57. See Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei Liang Jin Nan Bei Chao fojiao shi,* 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983): 1: 211.

58. See, for example, the translation projects mentioned in Zhisheng's *Kaiyuan shijiao lu.* Especially interesting are the records about the translation teams under Yijing. In one of his translation projects, more than forty people, including monks from Middle India, Kapiśa, East India, a Kaśmīri prince-monk, and Chinese monks and officials took part (T. 2154: 568c.29–569a.11). Wang Bangwei believes that this project may have been supported by the Tang ruler. See Wang, *Tang gaoseng Yijing shengping ji qi zhuzuo lunkao* (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1996): 19. Of similar interest is the team that is credited for translating *Ratnamegha Sūtra.* See Forte, "Appendix: The Translators of the Ratnamegha Sūtra," in *Political Propaganda,* 171–176.

59. Taizong's Buddhist activities are discussed in detail by Huang Chi-chiang in "Imperial Rulership" as well as in his "Song Taizong yu fojiao," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 12.2 (1994): 107–133.

60. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 399a.6.

61. See Huang, "Imperial Rulership," 165–166.

62. See Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992): 150–155; and John Winthrop Haeger, "The Significance of Confucian: The Origins of the *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan,*" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88.3 (July-September 1968): 401–410. The political implications of the compilation projects encouraged by Emperor Taizong is also highlighted in Johannes L. Kurz's "The Politics of Collecting Knowledge: Song Taizong's Compilation Project," *T'oung Pao* 87 (2001): 289–316. Kurz explains that by promoting literary projects, such as the compilation of the encyclopedia *Taiping yulan,* Emperor Taizong aimed to link "the Song with the Tang culturally by imitating the latter's endeavours in the literary fields," 301–302. The same seems to hold true for Taizong's interest in supporting the Buddhist translation and distributing the printed canon to the neighboring kingdoms.

63. *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 24 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979–1995): 554–555. Translated by Huang Chi-chiang in "Imperial Rulership," 153.

64. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 1): 7875b.

65. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 398c.1–2.

66. *Foju tongji*, T. 2035: 398c.29.

67. See Huang, "Imperial Rulership," 149; and his "Song Taizong yu fojiao," 117–122.

68. Mote, *Imperial China*, 43.

69. *Song hui yao*, 200 (daoshi 1): 7893a. See also Jan, "Ch'uan-fa yuan," 79.

70. *Song shi*, 486:14009.

71. *Song hui yao* 197 (fanyi 4): 7734a.

72. Dunnell, *The Great State*, 62.

73. Instead of using the Song edition, the Khitans prepared their own Buddhist canon with manuscripts they had obtained during the Tang dynasty. On the Khitan canon, see Lewis R. Lancaster, "The Rock Cut Canon in China: Findings at Fang-Shan," in *The Buddhist Heritage: Papers Delivered at the Symposium of the Same Name Convened at the Schools of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, November 1985*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1989): 144–156.

74. Lancaster, "Rock-cut Canon," 154. On the use of imported Song Buddhist canon by the Koreans for the protection of the nation, especially against the invading Liao forces, see also Lancaster's "The Buddhist Canon in the Koryŏ Period," in *Buddhism in Koryŏ: A Royal Religion*, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster, Kikun Suh, and Chai-shin Yu (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1996): 173–193.

75. This role of Buddhism among the semi-nomadic states is discussed by Mote in *Imperial China*, 84 and 261–263.

76. Dunnell, *The Great State*.

77. Iwasaki Tsutomu, "The Tibetan Tribes of Ho-hsi and Buddhism during the Northern Sung Period," *Acta Asiatica* 64 (1993): 17–34.

78. Lü Yijian, *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu*, H. 1676: 579b.14–580a.12.

79. *Fozu tongji*, T.2035: 410a.15–17.

80. On the Institute for the Transmission of the Dharma and its translation activities after the death of Sūryakīrti, see Fujiyoshi, "Sōchō yakukyō."

81. *Sung hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7893a; see also Jan, "Ch'uan-fa yuan," 78.

82. *Fozu tongji*, T.2035: 402.a18–19; see also Jan, "Ch'uan-fa yuan," 82.

83. *Fozu tongji*, T. 2035: 410a.18–19.

84. Jan, "Ch'uan-fa yuan," 93.

85. Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2 (1966): 144–59; and Takeuchi Kōzen, "Sōdai honyaku kyōten no tokushoku ni tsuite," *Mikkyō bunka* 113 (February 1975): 27–53.

86. On Fahu's original name, Dalimoboluo, see Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.1: 39.

87. On Weijing and his contribution to the translation activity during the Song period, see Nakamura, "Sō Denpōin."

88. Jan Yün-hua has rightly pointed out that Dharmadeva should not be confused with Faxian (Dharmabhadra), a name given to Tianxizai (Devaśātika?) by Emperor Taizong. See Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.1: 34–37.

89. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 1): 7891a; Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 146.

90. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu* H. 1675: 442c.8–9.

91. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu* H. 1675: 470c.3–15.

92. Paul Demiéville, Hubert Durt, and Anna Seidel eds., *Hōbōgirin: Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais* (Paris: Libraire d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1978): 257. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1883): 450–451. Nanjio, however, wrongly notes that Dharmadeva and Dharmabhadra (Tianxizai/Faxian) were the same person and incorrectly assigns two more works (T. 705 [Nj. 810] and T. 166 [Nj. 852]) to Dharmadeva. On the confusion with Dharmabhadra's name, see Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.1: 34–45.

93. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7892a.

94. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H.1675: 418b.8–18; *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7891b; and Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 148–149.

95. Nanjio ascribes eighteen translations to Devaśātika and places seventy-two translations under Dharmabhadra's name. See Nanjio, *A Catalogue,* 451–453. In *Répertoire* seventeen works are assigned to Devaśātika. Missing there is T. 472. See *Répertoire,* 283. However, *Répertoire* has six more titles listed under Dharmabhadra (T. 166, T. 548, T. 705, T. 1055, T. 1312 and T. 1683).

96. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7892a.

97. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 473c.3-17.

98. *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu,* H. 1676: 573c.2; and *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7892a.

99. The identification of Jiankukaigong as Vikramaśīla is based on the entry in *Foguang da cidian* (5282b).

100. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 402c.18-20.

101. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7892a-b.

102 *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 497c.5–498a.11. See also Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 39–41.

103. *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu,* H. 1676: 571b.14–c.1. The presentation of purple robe and the title of Master of Purple Robe that came with it was, as Kenneth Ch'en has pointed out, "the highest honor the state could bestow on a monk." The practice of giving the robe, whose purple color was reserved for high-ranking officials, began during the reign of Empress Wu. Noting that the honor was not easy to obtain until after the early Song period, Ch'en explains that the monks who were granted such robes included those versed in the Buddhist canon, Chinese monks who travelled abroad in search of Buddhist texts, and those who participated in translation activity. See Kenneth Ch'en, "The Sale of Monk Certificates during the Sung Dynasty: A Factor in the Decline of Buddhism

in China," *Harvard Theological Review* 49 (1956): 320–321. See also, Kieschnick, "The Symbolism."

104. On this work and the preface Emperor Renzong wrote for it, see R. H. van Gulik, *Siddham: An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan* (Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1980): 91–96.

105. Nanjio, *A Catalogue,* 456; and *Répertoire,* 239. According to the Japanese monk Jōjin, Jñānaśrī came from Nālandā. See *Jōjin azari no haha shū, San Tendai Godai san ki no kenkyū,* ed. Shimazu Kusako (Tokyo: Kazama Shobō, 1978): 487. For Jōjin's records on Buddhist translations during the Song dynasty, see Bowring, "Buddhist Translations," and Robert Borgen, "*San Tendai Godai san ki* as a Source for the Study of Sung History," *The Bulletin of Sung Yüan Studies* 19 (1987): 1–16.

106. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7893a. Yu Qian mistakenly states that Sūryakīrti was a Xi Xia monk. It is possible, however, that the Indian monk arrived in China after passing through the Xi Xia territory. See *Xin xu gaoseng zhuan* in *Gaoseng zhuan heji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1991): 789b.4; and Dunnell, *The Great State,* 32. According to Jōjin, Sūryakīrti was a native of Middle India who embarked on his three-year journey to China from West India. A description of the translation projects headed by Sūryakīrti is also given by Jōjin. See *Jōjin azari,* 388–395, 393, and 602–603.

107. *Répertoire,* 270. Nanjio has only two translations assigned to him. See *A Catalogue,* 456–457.

108. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 427c.11–15.

109. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 401a.13–14.

110. Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 139.

111. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 502c.10–504a.19; and Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 152–153.

112. *Song hui yao* 197 (fanyi 4): 7758b; and Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 159.

113. See Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Song China,* translated into English by Mark Elvin (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970); and Robert Hartwell, "The Imperial Treasuries: Finance and Power in Song China," *The Bulletin of Sung Yüan Studies* 20 (1988): 18–89.

114. See *Jōjin azari,* 486–90, and 533; and Bowring, "Buddhist Translations," 90.

115. *Song hui yao* 199 (fanyi 7): 7849a.

116. *Song hui yao* 199 (fanyi 7): 7858a.

117. See Robert Hartwell, "Foreign Trade, Monetary Policy and Chinese 'Mercantilism,'" in *Collected Studies on Sung History Dedicated to James T. C. Liu in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday,* ed. Kinugawa Tsuyoshi (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1989): 453–88.

118. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 448c.10–16; and *Fozu tongji* T. 2035: 401a.

119. *Song hui yao* 197 (fanyi 4): 7717b; and 199 (fanyi 7): 7851a.

120. *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7891a; translated in Jan, "Buddhist Relations," 6.2: 151.

121. In fact, linguistic errors in Song translations have been already pointed out by number of scholars. See, for example, E. H. Johnston, "The Gaṇḍīstotra," *The Indian Antiquary* (April 1933): 61–70; and Matsunaga, "Some Problems of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra.*"

122. On problems associated with the oral/aural nature of early Chinese Buddhist translation projects that lacked bilingual specialists, see Daniel Boucher, "Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Translations Reconsidered: The Case of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra,*" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.4 (1998): 471–506.

123. Takeuchi, "Sōdai," 27–53. According to the Song catalogue *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu,* one hundred thirty-nine texts in two hundred forty-three scrolls were translated during the reign of Emperor Taizong (H. 1676: 525c.2–4), and a total of ninety-four texts in two hundred forty-six scrolls were translated under Emperor Zhenzong (H. 1676: 526a.14–c.15).

124. Takeuchi, "Sōdai," 35.

125. Takeuchi, "Sōdai," 36–37.

126. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu,* T. 2154: 552c.6–9.

127. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu,* H. 1675: 436a.20–22.

128. As van Gulik notes, the work "only notes the Indian script and the mystic meaning of the syllables, without any reference to Sanskrit grammar." See van Gulik, *Siddham,* 93.

129. Song Minqiu, *Chunming tuichao lu* 1 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936): 9.

130. Ch[arles]. Willemen, *The Chinese Hevajratantra: The Scriptural Text of the Ritual of the Great King of the Teaching, and Adamantine One with Great Compassion and Knowledge of the Void* (Leuven: Peeters, 1983): 29–32.

131. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 401a.22–27, and *Song hui yao* 200 (daoshi 2): 7892a. See also Jan, "Ch'uan-fa yuan," 88.

132. *Fozu tongji,* T. 2035: 405c.25–406a.2. The text may have contained passages about rites involving blood-letting.

133. The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston (1290–1364) classified Tantric texts into four categories: Kriyā (action) tantras, Caryā (practice) tantras, Yogatantra, and Anuttarayoga (unsurpassed yoga) tantra. Kriyātantras deal with ceremonies for and spells about building temples, erection of images, rainmaking, and protection from snake bites, etc. The Caryātantras teach about the attainment of Buddhahood through the accumulation of moral and intellectual merits. Yogatantras deal with the practice of yoga. And the Anuttarayogatantras focus on the mystical aspects of yoga. See Willemen, *The Chinese Hevajratantra,* "Introduction." See also Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism,* 331–332; and N. N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1992), Chapter 2.

134. Matsunaga, "Some Problems of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra.*"

135. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu*, H. 1675: 472a.14–474b.3.

136. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 332.

137. *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu*, H. 1676: 530a.4–6.

138. Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit. Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 38–42.

139. R. S. Sharma has explained that these linguistic variations in Indic languages during the sixth century resulted from the "lack of sufficient mobility and inter-regional communication" in northern India. Sharma's observation about the causes of linguistic variations is linked to his larger argument about the decline of long-distance trade and decay of towns in northern India, which he terms as "Indian feudalism." Thus, he writes, "between the sixth and tenth centuries diminishing communication between different regions was indicated by the decline of long-distance trade, which is shown by the striking paucity of coins in this period. It is, therefore, evident that too many principalities, little trade, and decreasing inter-zonal communication created congenial conditions for the origin and formation of regional languages from the sixth and seventh centuries onward." See his *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalisation* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Limited, 2001): 36–37. Sharma's views on the decline of long-distance trade in the sixth and seventh centuries and its connection to and ramifications for Sino-Indian trade are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

140. *Jōjin azari*, 487–490.

141. *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu*, H. 1676: 579c.8–581b.4.

142. *Dazhongxiangfu fabao lu*, H. 1675: 427a.14–b.4. A brief description of the content of the translated text is also found in this catalogue, see H. 1675: 510a.5-c. The name of the translator appears as Tianxizai, i.e., Deraśāntika.

143. Charles Willemen, *The Chinese Udānavarga: A Collection of Important Odes of the Law Fa Chi Yao Sung Ching* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1978): xxvi.

144. *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 11.

145. On Dharmakīrti's teachings in India and Tibet, see Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality: Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretation* (Albany: State University of New York, 1997), Introduction 2.

146. For discussions on sinification of Buddhism during the sixth-seventh centuries period, see Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 265–306; Robert M. Gimello, "Chih-yen (602–668) and the Foundations of Hua-yen Buddhism." (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976); and Peter N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

147. Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 272.

148. Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 274–275.

149. Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 272–273.

150. Bernard Faure, *The Will to Orthodoxy: A Critical Genealogy of Northern Chan Buddhism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997): 121.

151. Peter N. Gregory, *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity: An Annotated Translation of Tsung-mi's Yüan jen lun with a Modern Commentary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995): 26.

152. See also Gregory, *Tsung-mi*, Introduction. Cf. Paul Demiéville's "La pénétration du Bouddhisme dana la tradition philosophique chinoise," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 3.1 (1956): 19–38. Demiéville had also suggested that the process of sinification of Buddhism transpired in three stages: He describes the pre-fifth-century period as "dans le mirior taoïste"; the second stage, that began with the contributions of Kumārajīva, as "le Bouddhisme va s'indianiser en chine"; and he terms the third stage during the seventh and eighth centuries as "le Bouddhisme recommencera a se siniser."

153. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 297.

154. Robert H. Sharf, "The 'Treasure Store Treatise' (Pao-tsang lun) and the Sinification of Buddhism in Eighth Century China," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1991), 121. A revised version of this work has been published recently as *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

155. Daniel Boucher, "Buddhist Translation Procedures in Third-Century China: A Study of Dharmarakṣa and his Translation Idiom," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996): 258.

156. Robert E. Buswell, *The Formation of Ch'an Ideology in China and Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989): 16.

157. An excellent study on the formation of this text, and the concept of purgatory in Chinese Buddhism, is Teiser's *The Scripture on the Ten Kings.*

158. On the origins and the development of the ghost festival, see Teiser's *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China.*

159. *Ennin's Diary*, 344.

160. Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage," 290–291. Chen Jinhua has demonstrated that the Tiantai school had started to decline, and was deprived of imperial patronage, even before the collapse of the Sui dynasty. The geographical location of the Tiantai communities in the politically irrelevant coastal regions and the lack of a charismatic leader, Chen contends, were responsible for this decline. Chen thus argues against the accepted notion, initially proposed by Tsukamoto Zenryū and reiterated by Weinstein, that an intimate relationship between the Tiantai monks and the Sui rulers had prompted the early Tang emperors to shun the School. See Chen, *Making and Remaking History*, Chapter 3.

161. Peter N. Gregory and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, "The Religious and Historical Landscape," in *Religion and Society*, eds. Ebrey and Gregory, 20–21.

162. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice," 148.

163. *Da Song seng shi lüe*, T. 2126: 235b. The passage is translated by Albert Welter in "A Buddhist Response to Confucian Revival: Tsan-ning and the Debate over Wen in the Early Sung," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, 39. For a historical examination of Zanning's life and his role at the Song court, see Albert A. Dalia, "The 'Political Career' of the Buddhist Historian Tsan-ning," in *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval China, Buddhist and Taoist Studies II*, ed. David W. Chappell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987): 146–180.

164. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 879c.3–14. See also Chen, *Making and Remaking History*, 35–37.

165. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 879c.14–880a.2. See also Chen, *Making and Remaking History*, 36–37.

166. Welter, "A Buddhist Response," 36–47.

167. Foulk, "Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice."

168. Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, 295–339. See also the contributions of Daniel B. Stevenson. Chi-wah Chan, Daniel A. Gertz, Jr., and Koichi Shinohara in the same volume.

169. See Yü, *Kuan-yin.*

Chapter Four

1. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China.*

2. Karl Polanyi, "Traders and Trade," in *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, eds. J. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1966): 133–154.

3. Polanyi, "Traders and Trade," 133.

4. Polanyi, "Traders and Trade," 133–134.

5. Karl Polanyi, "The Economy as Instituted Process," in *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, eds. Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson (Glencoe: The Free Press and The Falcon's Wing Press, 1957): 243–270.

6. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (1922; Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, Inc., 1984), Chapters 3 and 14.

7. Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986): 187–188.

8. In the same volume where Patrick Geary explains the circulation of sacred relics as commodities, Igor Kopytoff provides the following definition for commodities: "A commodity is a thing that has use value and that can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart, the very fact of exchange indicating that the counterpart has, in the immediate context, an equivalent value. The counterpart is by the same token also a commodity at the time of

exchange. The exchange can be direct or it can be achieved indirectly by way of money, one of whose functions is as a means of exchange. Hence, anything that can be bought for money is at that point a commodity, whatever the fate that is reserved for it after the transaction has been made (it may, thereafter, be decommoditized)." See "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things*, 68–69. Applying this definition to the present study, we can perhaps argue that the purchase of the parietal bone of the Buddha from an Indian monastery by the Chinese envoy Wang Xuance in exchange for silk and its subsequent veneration by the Tang rulers (see Chapters 2 and 5) are examples of the commodization and the subsequent decommodization of sacred Buddhist relics.

9. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, 76–81.

10. The list of seven jewels (or seven precious objects) differs slightly from text to text. Usually they include gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, coral, pearl, and agate. Other items that are sometimes included in the list are amber, carnelian, and diamond. Buddhist texts, such as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lotus Sūtra*, describe the seven jewels as objects that a patron can offer as donations or adornments to the Buddha and his reliquaries in order to obtain supreme merit. In another, and perhaps earlier, context, the seven jewels in Buddhism denoted the things a righteous king possessed as symbols of his authority, status, and wealth: wheel, elephant, horse, gem, queen, householder, and a minister. See Liu's detailed discussion of the concept of seven jewels and its impact on commercial activities in *Ancient India and Ancient China*, Chapter 4.

11. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, 175.

12. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, 174.

13. See Philip Abrams, "Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, eds. Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978): 9–33. See also K. N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), esp. Chapter 11.

14. Uma Chakravarti, *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987): 177.

15. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China.*

16. Ram Sharan Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1983): 188–189.

17. R. S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India (c. 300–c. 1000)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1987): 138.

18. In his most recent book, Sharma seems to have slightly modified his views on Sino-Indian trade after the sixth century. He writes, "India continued some commerce with China and Southeast Asia, but its benefits were reaped by the Arab middlemen." See *Early Medieval Indian Society*, 27.

19. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India (circa A.D. 500–1200)* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969), 7.

20. Ram Sharan Sharma, *Indian Feudalism, c.300–1200* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1965).

21. For an excellent survey of the debate on decay of towns and the concept of Indian feudalism, see Hermann Kulke's introductory chapter in *The State in India 1000–1700*, ed. Hermann Kulke (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995): 1–46.

22. Harbans Mukhia, "Was There Feudalism in Indian History?" 86–133. This essay was first published in the *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8.3 (April 1981): 273–310. The reference here and below are to the reprinted version in Kulke ed., *The State in India.*

23. Mukhia, "Was There Feudalism in Indian History?" 130.

24. Mukhia, "Was There Feudalism in Indian History?" 131. It must be pointed out that Mukhia's views presented here have also been a topic of intense scholarly debate. A special issue of the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, published in 1985 and co-edited by T. J. Byres and Harbans Mukhia, was devoted to present these contentions. Worth noting is Burton Stein's argument that "the 'relative stability' of agrarian history [in medieval India] was engendered, not by fertile soils and low subsistence need, but by historically evolved and localised forms of co-operation among people with high degree of social differentiation and with a level of living which, in general cannot be considered low." See Stein's "Politics, Peasants and the Deconstruction of Feudalism in Medieval India," *Journal of Peasant Studies* 12. 2–3 (1985): 59. For a summary of the debate presented in this special issue of the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, including Mukhia's response to his critics, see Kulke, "Introduction," *The State in India*, 15–17. See also a recent anthology on the same topic edited by Hurbans Mukhia as *The Feudalism Debate* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999).

25. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban Centres in Early Medieval North India," *Indian Historical Review* 1 (1974): 203–219, reprinted in *The Making of Early Medieval India*, ed. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994): 130–154. References below are to the reprinted version.

26. Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban Centres," 148.

27. See B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "State and Economy in North India: Fourth Century to Twelfth Century," in *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, ed. Romila Thapar (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1995): 309–346. See also his *The Making of Early Medieval India*, esp. Chapters 1 and 7.

28. John S. Deyell, *Living Without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990): 244.

29. For Sharma's response to his critics, see his *Early Medieval Indian Society.*

30. Sucheta Mazumdar suggests that the Vinaya codes translated into Chinese and the popularity of the rituals connected to "Bathing of the Buddha" may have resulted in the need for "a fair amount of sugar." However, she provides no evidence for the widespread imposition of a dietary regulation on sugar/sweet

products among the Chinese monastic community, nor is her proposition regarding the use of sugared water in "Bathing of the Buddha" clearly documented. See, *Sugar and Society in China*, 25–27. Rather, as is evident from the material collected by Ji Xianlin, sugar, during the Tang period, was primarily used in medical prescriptions. See Ji, *Wenhua jiaoliu*, 72–84.

31. Daniels, "Agro-Industries," 406.

32. See, for example, the list provided in Jonathan Karam Skaff's "The Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Turfan: Their Relationship to International Trade and the Local Economy," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 11.2 (1998): 91.

33. For the gradual increase in production and use of sugar in southern China during the Song period, see Billy K. L. So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern*, 946–1368 (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000): 65–67.

34. Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China*, Chapters 3–5.

35. Anjali Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise in Northern India, A.D. 600–1000* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998): 81.

36. See Chapter 5.

37. In fact, in his recent work Sharma makes no mention of the purported impact of the transfer of sugar-making technology on Indian feudalism. Rather, he now argues that between the sixth and eleventh centuries Arab traders replaced and eventually monopolized India's trade with China and Southeast. See *Early Medieval Indian Society*, 27. As will be evident from the discussions presented in this chapter and the next, Arab traders did in fact become actively involved in Sino-Indian trade. However, there is also profusion of evidence to indicate the presence of Tamil merchants in Southeast Asia and China. Moreover, Sharma does not clarify if the Arab merchants that he is referring to were residents of the Arabian Peninsula or those settled in the coastal regions of India. It is argued in this chapter that many of the Arab merchants active between the Chola kingdom in South India and Song China may have been the members of the Arab diasporas established at the Coromandel coast.

38. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches.*

39. See the following two articles by Denis Twitchett, "The T'ang Market System," *Asia Major*, New Series, 12.2 (1966): 202–248; and "Merchant, Trade and Government in Late T'ang," *Asia Major*, New Series, 14.1 (1968): 82–95.

40. Twitchett, "Merchant, Trade," 73–72.

41. Twitchett, "Merchant, Trade," 63–69.

42. This is not to say, however, that Confucian ideology was always successful in preventing government participation in or support for mercantile activities. Especially during the fourth and fifth centuries, the kingdoms in southern China are known to have launched military campaigns against their Vietnamese neighbors in order to sustain fiscal profits linked to maritime commerce. The Buddhist-leaning rulers of these kingdoms may have mollified any Confucian

criticism of such profit-oriented campaigns. On economic activities and commercial development in southern China during this period, see Shufen Liu, "Jiankang and the Commercial Empire of the Southern Dynasties: Change and Continuity in Medieval Chinese Economic History," in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200–600*, eds. Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001): 35–52.

43. For a detailed study on the impact of An Lushan rebellion on Tang economy, see Denis Twitchett, *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

44. The loosening of central control over the provinces caused by the An Lushan rebellion seems to have been one of the main reasons for the implementation of the *Liangshui fa* system. Under this system, the local provincial authorities were authorized to collect taxes and give a fixed amount of the revenue to the central government. Multiple levies were consolidated under one primary tax. The tax payers had the option of paying the tax during either of the two collection cycles within a year with cash or in kind. These and other features of the *Liangshui fa* are discussed in detail in Twitchett's *Financial Administration*, 39–50.

45. Twitchett, "Merchant, Trade," 77–78.

46. See Kang Chao, *Man and Land in Chinese History: An Economic Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986): 35.

47. Chao, *Man and Land in Chinese History*, 50.

48. Urban growth and expansion of commerce between the eighth and thirteenth centuries is explained in detail in Yoshinobu Shiba, "Urbanization and the Development of Markets in Lower Yangtze Valley," in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, ed. John Winthrop Haeger (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1975): 13–48. For an extensive study of economic growth during the Song period, see Shiba Yoshinobu's *Sōdai shōgyōshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1968). Parts of this work have been translated into English by Mark Elvin as *Commerce and Society in Sung China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1970).

49. G. William Skinner, "Urban Development in Imperial China," in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. W. Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977): 23–25.

50. Shiba Yoshinobu, "Sung Foreign Trade: Its Scope and Organization," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors*, ed. Moris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983): 89–115.

51. Qi Xia, *Zhongguo jingji tongshi, Songdai jingji juan*, 2 vols. (Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 1999): 2: 1151–1152.

52. Hugh Clark, "The Politics of Trade and the Establishment of the Quanzhou Trade Superintendency," in *Zhongguo yu haishang sichou zhi lu*, ed. Lianheguo jiaokewen zuzhi haishang sichou zhi lu zonghe kaocha Quanzhou guoji xueshu taolunhui zuzhi weiyuanhui (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe,

1991): 387–390. For variant figures, see Li Donghua, *Quanzhou yu Woguo zhonggu de haishang jiaotong* (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1986): 128; Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32.2 (1961): 1–140; and more recently, So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions*, 69–70.

53. Shiba, "Sung Foreign Trade."

54. See Hartwell, *Tribute Missions to China, 960–1126* (Philadelphia: 1983).

55. *Song hui yao* 86 (zhiguan 44): 3365a-b. Modified from Hartwell's translation in *Tribute Missions to China*, 200.

56. Hartwell, "The Imperial Treasuries."

57. *Song huiyao* 86 (zhiguan 44): 3373b, translated in Kuwabara Jitsuzo "P'u shou-keng: A Man of the Western Regions, who was the Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou toward the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras," *Memoirs of the Research Department of Toyo Bunko* 2 (1928): 24. It should not be implied, however, that there were no adverse effects of increasing foreign trade on Song economy, or that the support for foreign trade was universal at the Song court. One of most noticeable effects of the growing foreign trade and the parallel increase in the consumption of foreign commodities was the serious drain of copper currency from China to foreign countries. On a number of occasions, high-ranking Song officials voiced their concerns about the outflow of copper and criticized the trade in foreign luxuries. Laws were also passed to curtail the sale of certain foreign luxuries (such as brocades, kingfishers' feathers, and gold ornaments) and restrict the loss of copper. On the concern and criticism of foreign trade and its apparent impact on Chinese copper during Song and the subsequent Yuan periods, see W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century, Part 1," *T'oung Pao* 15 (1914): 420–426.

58. *Song hui yao* 197 (fanyi 4): 7729b.

59. *Song shi* 489: 14099.

60. See William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); and George Modelski and William R. Thompson, *Leading Sectors and World Powers: The Coevolution of Global Politics and Economics* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996).

61. Modelski and Thompson, *Leading Sectors*, 149.

62. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, "Political Maxims of the Emperor—Poet, Krishnadev Raya," *Journal of Indian History* 4.3: 61–88, cited in A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000–1500 A.D.)*, 2 vols. (Madras: Madras University Press, 1936): 2: 654.

63. Similar to the debate over "Indian feudalism," the nature of the Chola state has been a topic of intense scholarly contention. Burton Stein, for example, has described the Chola state as a "segmentary" and "multicentered system" devoid of "any persistent administrative or power structure." Stein argues that "nuclear areas" consisting of "the *brahmadeya*, or Brahman-controlled circle of villages, and the *periyanāḍu* or a Sat-Sudra-controlled extended locality" formed the center of political power in South India until the thirteenth century. The critics of Stein have, however, contended that while the idea of a segmentary state can be applied to the formative phase of the Chola kingdom, the eleventh and twelfth centuries witnessed a rise in royal power and central authority. For Burton's views on the segmentary Chola state, see "Integration of the Agrarian System of South India," in *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, ed. Robert Eric Frykenberg (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969): 175–213. A good overview of Stein's idea and those of his critics is provided in Kulke, *The State in India*, 18–31.

64. On the importance and functions of *nagarams* during the Chola period, see Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Cōḷas* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980). The role of *nagarams* in long-distance trade and urbanization is also dealt in R. Champakalakshmi's *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to A.D. 1300* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. Chapter 4.

65. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization.*

66. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft*, Chapter 5; and Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, 214–215.

67. James Heitzman, *Gifts of Power: Lordship in an Early Indian State* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997): 109.

68. Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988): 51–58.

69. Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds*, 129–138.

70. Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds*, 87.

71. S.D. Goitein, "Letters and Documents on the India Trade in Medieval Times," *Islamic Culture* 37 (July 1963): 188–205.

72. This important role of the Cholas in the Indian Ocean trade has been correctly emphasized by Hermann Kulke. "It was the emergence of the Cholas and their maritime activities at the heart of the Indian Ocean trade system," he writes, "which caused the bifurcation of the trade into two distinct sections, the Arabian Sea with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in the west, and the Bay of Bengal with South-East Asia and the South China Sea in the East." See "Rivalry and Competition in the Bay of Bengal in the Eleventh Century and Its Bearing on Indian Ocean Studies," in *Commerce and Culture in the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Om Prakash (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999): 33.

73. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1954): 137; E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman*

Empire and India (London: Curzon Press Ltd., 1974); Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, 8–9; and Lin Meicun, "Zhongguo yu Luoma de haishang jiaotong," in *Han-Tang Xiyu yu Zhongguo wenming*, ed. Lin Meicun (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1998): 307–321.

74. See Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 20–22.

75. *Hou Han shu* 88: 2920; Friedrich Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into Their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records* (repr., New York: Paragon, 1966); and Ying-shih Yü, *Trade and Expansion in Han China: A Study in the Structure of Sino-Barbarian Economic Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967): 156.

76. See G. A. Koshelenko and V. N. Pilipko, "Parthia," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Vol II: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250*, ed. János Harmatta, B. N. Puri and G. F. Etemadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1994): 131–150.

77. Richard N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996): 141.

78. These letters are believed to date from the early fourth century. See Frantz Grenet and Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," in *Transition Periods in Iranian History, Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22–24 Mai 1985)*, eds. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Leuven: Association pour l'avancement de études iraniennes: Diffusion, E. Peeters, 1987): 101–122. See also W. B. Henning, "The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12.3 (1948): 601–615; J. Harmatta, "The Archaeological Evidence for the Date of the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters,'" *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1976): 71–86; Nicholas Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Merchants in China and India," in *Cina e Iran: Da Alessandro Magno alla Dinastia Tang*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna and Lionello Lanciotti (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994): 45–67; and B.I. Marshak and N.N. Negmatov, "Sogdiana," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. III: The Crossroads of Civilizations: A.D. 250 to 750* eds. B. A. Litvinsky, Zhang Guang-da (*sic*) and R. Shabani Samghabadi (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1996): 233–280.

79. See H. Humbach, "Die sogdischen Inschriftenfunde vom oberen Indus (Pakistan)," *Allgemeine und vergleichende Archäologie, Beiträge [des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts]* 2 (1980): 201–228; and Karl Jettmar, "Sogdians in the Indus Valley," in *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique, Sources écrites et documents archéologiques: actes du Colloque international du CNRS (Paris, 22–28 novembre 1988)*, eds. P. Bernard and Frank Gernet (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991): 251–253.

80. See Jiang Boqin, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu yu sichou zhi lu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994); Sims-Williams, "The Sogdian Merchants," 48; Kumamoto Hiroshi, "The Khotanese in Dunhuang," in *Cina e Iran*, eds. Cadonna and Lanciotti, 79–101; and Skaff, "The Sasanian," 67–115.

81. See, for example, Schafer, *The Golden Peaches*; and more recently Rong Xinjiang, "The Migrations and Settlements of the Sogdians in the Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang," *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4.1 (December 2000): 117–163.

82. See Rong Xinjiang, "The Migrations and Settlements," 139–142. The Tang court is reported to have established a full-fledged office, called *Sabaofu*, that was often headed by a person of Sogdian origin to administer the growing number of foreign merchants in China. For a recent study of the Sabao office, including a good survey of other secondary research on the topic, see Luo Feng, "Sabao: Yige Tangchao weiyi wailai guanzhi de zai kaocha," *Tang yanjiu* 4 (1998): 215–249. An English translation of this article has appeared as "*Sabao*: Further Consideration of the Only Post for Foreigners in the Tang Dynasty Bureaucracy," *China Archaeology and Art Digest* 4.1 (December 2000): 165–191. Luo Feng suggests that the Chinese term *sabao* was a transcription of either the Pāli word *sattavaha* or the Sanskrit *saravaho*, denoting a guide or the head of a merchant caravan. The term apparently spread to rest of Asia in tandem with the transmission of Buddhism through various trade routes.

83. On the Hephthalites, see B. A. Litvinsky, "The Hephthalite Empire," in *History of Civilizations*, ed. Litvisky et al., 135–162.

84. Their economic role under the Turks can be discerned, for example, from the Roman sources that report the interactions between the Turkish rulers and the Byzantine emperors. See Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, 4 vols. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1915), 1: 205–208.

85. On Sogdian traders and their role in the commercial activities of the Uighur empire, see Colin Mackerras, "Sino-Uighur Diplomatic and Trade Contacts (744 to 840)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 13 (1969): 215–240; and Christopher I. Beckwith, "The Impact of the Horse and Silk Trade on the Economies of T'ang China and the Uighur Empire: On the Importance of International Commerce in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991): 183–198.

86. *Gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2059: 325a.13–14.

87. The identification of the Yuezhi tribe is an extremely complex issue. They may have started as Tocharians and later became Iranized.

88. See Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955): 134, n.7.

89. One of the letters, for example, mentions the death of Indian and Sogdian merchants due to starvation soon after their arrival in Luoyang. The fact that Indian and Sogdian merchants travelled and conducted commercial activities together along the Silk Road to China is also indicated, as Sims-Williams points out, by the use of many Indian loanwords related to commerce in these Ancient Letters. See his "The Sogdian Merchants," 49. See also Henning, "The Date," 603, n. 3.

90. See Liu Hongliang, *Xinchu Tulufan wenshu ji qi yanjiu* (Urmuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1997): 74–75. See also Jiang, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu*, 141–142.

91. See Jiang, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu*, 141–143.

92. Jiang, *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu*, 142.

93. *Liang shu* 54 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973): 797–799.

94. Zhu Pole is reported to be a long-time expatriate at Guangzhou. His son was named Nankang, after the Chinese prefecture in which he was born. Nankang later became a disciple of the South Asian monk called Tanmoyeshe (Dharmayaśas?) and changed his name to Fadu. See Sengyou, *Chu sanzang ji ji* T. 2145: 40c.25–41a.28.

95. Genkai, *Tōdai wajō tōseiden* T. 2089: 991c.7–15.

96. Li Fang (925-996) comp., *Taiping yulan* 808 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960): 3591b. The significance of lapis lazuli in Buddhist rituals and Sino-Indian trade is discussed by Xinru Liu in *Ancient India and Ancient China.* On the secular uses of lapis lazuli during the Tang period, see Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 230–234.

97. Uddyotana Sūrī, *Kuvalayamālā*, 2 vols. ed. A. N. Upadhye (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959 and 1970): 65–66. See also Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 72; and P. S. Jain, "An Account of the Trade and shipping in Prākrit Literature," in *Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture*, ed. R. C. Dwivedi (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975): 276–277.

98. Haribhadra Sūrī, *Samarāiccakahā*, ed. Hermann Jacobi (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1908–1926): 409. Also citied in Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 120.

99. *Samarāiccakahā*, 444–454. Cited in Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India* (repr., Delhi: Motilalal Banarsidass, 1989): 133. For a study of international commerce described in *Kuvalayamālā* and *Samarāiccakahā*, see Shyam Manohar Mishra's "India's Foreign Trade as Known from the *Samarāiccakahā* and the *Kuvalayamālā*," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 24 (1974–1975): 187–200.

100. George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring In the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, revised and expanded by John Carswell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 43–44.

101. H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 203–207.

102. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 65.

103. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1: 71.

104. See V. K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (A.D. 1000–1300)* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1990): 71–83.

105. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1: 78.

106. For translations into Western languages, see J. T. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et ā la Chine dans le ixe siécle de l'ère chrétienne*, 2 vols. (Paris: l'Imprimerie Royale, 1845); and S. Maqbul Ahmad,

Arabic Classical Accounts of India and China (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1989).

107. Ahmad, *Arabic Classical Accounts*, 37.

108. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, 1: 64–65.

109. For a recent archeological survey of Chinese ceramics unearthed in the Middle East and northern and coastal Africa, see Axelle Rougeulle, "Medieval Trade Networks in the Western Indian Ocean (8-14 Centuries): Some Reflections from the Distribution Pattern of Chinese Imports in the Islamic World," in *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, eds. Himanshu Prabha Ray and Jean-Francois Salles (New Delhi: Manohar, 1996): 159–180. For Chinese ceramics in India, see Y. Subbarayalu, "Chinese Ceramics of Tamil Nadu and Kerala Coasts," in Ray and Salles eds., *Tradition and Archaeology*, 109–114; and B. Gray, "The Export of Chinese Porcelain to India," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 36 (1964): 21–37. Chinese ceramics excavated in Cordoba and Almeria are discussed in D. Whitehouse's "Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe," *Medieval Archeology* 16 (1972): 63–78. On the significance of porcelain trade in world history, see Robert Finlay, "The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History," *Journal of World History* 9.2 (fall 1998): 141–187.

110. In his letter to the Chinese emperor, the Chola king Rājarāja credits a seafaring merchant for informing him about the virtues of the first two Song rulers. This merchant may have been Abu Kasim. The content of this letter can be found in *Song shi* 248: 14097.

111. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 1: 78.

112. See Hartwell's list of embassies from these kingdoms in *Tribute Missions to China*.

113. See Kuwayama Shōshin, "Literary Evidence for Dating the Colossi in Bāmiyān," in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, 3 vols. eds. G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985–): 2: 703–727; and Kuwayama, "The Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra and Relevant Problems," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987: Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Foundazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice*, ed. Maurizio Taddei (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990): 945–978.

114. See H. W. Bailey, "An Itinerary in Khotanese Saka," *Acta Orientalia* 14.4 (1936): 258–267; and Huang Shengzhang, "Dunhuang xiejuan Yutianwen 'Keshimier xingcheng' lishi dili yanjiu," *Xinjiang wenwu* 4 (1994): 27–47.

115. Huang believes that this document was composed between 958 and 966. See Huang, "Dunhuang xiejuan," 28.

116. See *Xin Wudai shi* 74 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974): 917. The work notes that in the third year of the Tianfu reign period of the Later Jin dynasty (938), saffron (*Kashmirjanma*), along with other products, was presented as tribute to the Chinese court. As Anjali Malik points out, the Indian term for saffron

and the fact that it was a royal monopoly seems to suggest that Kāmīr was the sole producer of the commodity in the South Asian region. See Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 74–75.

117. According to L. A. Waddell's calculation, it would take a minimum of 147 days to travel non-stop from the Indian frontier to the Chinese capital. See Waddell, "Tibetan Invasion of India in 647 A.D."

118. Instead of skirting through the oasis states of the Taklamakan desert, the monks travelling between India and China in the ninth century took the route to (or from) Dunhuang over the Tibetan plateau. This entire region was then under the control of Tibet. See Rong, "Dunhuang wenxian."

119. For detailed studies on this route, see Chen Qian, "Preliminary Research on the Ancient Passage to India from Sichuan via Yunnan and Burma," *Social Sciences in China* 2.2 (1981): 113–148; Zhu Changli, "The Southern Overland Silk Route Eco-Cultural Exchanges between China, India and Burma," *Indica* 30.1-2 (1993): 23–45; and Angela F. Howard, "Buddhist Sculpture of Pujiang, Sichuan: A Mirror of the Direct Link between Southwest China and India in High Tang," *Asian Art* 42 (1989): 49–61. One of the best studies on the impact of Sino-Indian trade on the Myanmar kingdoms is Janice Stargardt's "Burma's Economy and Diplomatic Relations with India and China from Early Medieval Sources," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 14.1 (1971): 28–62.

120. See Stargardt, "Burma's Economy and Diplomatic Relations."

121. On the production of silk in Nanzhao kingdom and the use of cowries as a medium of exchange in Assam and Yunnan, see Robert S. Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: The Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to A.D. 1400* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1992), esp. Chapters 2 and 3.

122. The use of gold in the commercial exchanges in the region is pointed out by Stargardt in "Burma's Economic and Diplomatic Relations," 45.

123. Although some scholars have expressed doubt over the export of Chinese commodities reported by Zhang Qian, it seems there was indeed a local demand for these goods in the Assam region. Bamboo sticks, for example, were used by rural settlements in northeastern India for fencing and fortifying villages. See Chitrarekha Gupta, "Evolution of Agrarian Society in Kāmarūpa in Early Medieval Period," *The Indian Historical Review* 29.1-2 (1983–1984): 16.

124. *The Periplus of the Erytheaean Sea*, translated by G.W.B. Huntingford (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1980): 56. On the identification of "Thina" as the town of Yongchang in southern Yunnan, see Gordon H. Luce, "The Tan and the Ngai-lao," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 14.2 (1924): 130–141; and Wicks, *Money, Markets, Trade*, 35.

125. The Kunlun ships referred to here were Southeast Asian, probably Malayan, ships. This notice is found in a Chinese Buddhist work called *Yiqie jing yin yi* (T. 2128) by the monk Huilin (737–820). For a discussion of this record in the context of the development of shipbuilding methods in China, see Joseph

Needham, Wang Ling and Lu Gwei-djen, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 4, Physics and Physical Technology, Part III: Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971): 458–460.

126. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 88–95.

127. See Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation*, 4.3: 469. This passage is missing in H.A.R. Gibb's translation *Ibn Battúta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354* (1929; New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1992).

128. See Christopher Wake, "The Great Ocean-going Ships of Southern China in the Age of Chinese Maritime Voyaging to India, Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries," *International Journal of Maritime History* 9.2 (December 1997): 51–82. See also Chapter 5 of the present study for Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's description of large Chinese vessels in the fourteenth century.

129. See Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation*, 4.3: 588–699; and Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 100–105.

130. Needham et al., *Science and Civilisation*, 4.3: 554–587; and Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, 105–114.

131. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation*, 39.

132. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation*, 102.

133. Chapakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, 230. See also Abraham, *Two Medieval*, 109.

134. Subbarayalu, "Chinese Ceramics of Tamil Nadu and Kerala Coasts," 109–114.

135. See, for example, *Song shi*, 489: 14098. On the maritime route from Nāgapaṭṭinam, see Tansen Sen, "Maritime Contacts between China and the Cola Kingdom," in *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, ed. K. S. Mathew (New Delhi: Manohar, 1995), 27–28.

136. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, 230.

137. Abraham, *Two Medieval*.

138. S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *The Coromandel Coast and Its Hinterland: Economy, Society and Political System (A.D. 1500–1600)*: 133–173.

139. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation*, 165.

140. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation*, 169.

141. See Yang Bowen annot., *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996): 86. See also Hugh R. Clark, "Muslims and Hindus in the Culture and Morphology of Quanzhou from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 6.1 (spring 1995): 49–74.

142. Caution, however, must be exercised when emphasizing the complementary function of overland and maritime trade routes linking India and China. In a recent study on the position of India in the "world(-)system," a topic discussed in the next chapter, Christopher Chase-Dunn et al. rightly point out that several trade routes connected India to the Afroeurasian markets. Although correct in this assertion, they oversimplify the impact of shifts in trade routes when they write, "Disruption of any route—for whatever reason—could be bypassed by means of alternate routes. . . . At times when the straits of Malacca or Sunda were controlled

by pirates who made sea trade very risky, portages across the Malay Peninsula or overland through northern Southeast Asia (what is today northern Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam) were used. Thus, while a large state (e.g., Funan, the Khmer Empires, Srivijaya, or later Siam) could block one or more routes, no single state could control all the paths from India to China." See Christopher Chase-Dunn, E. Susan Manning, and Thomas D. Hall, "Rise and Fall: East-West Synchronicity and Indic Exceptionalism Reexamined," *Social Science History* 24.4 (winter 2000): 746–747. This argument seems to imply that when one trade route to China was blocked, the Indian kingdoms could easily opt for another. In reality, however, kingdoms in southern India would have found it impossible to use the Central Asian routes if a Southeast Asian kingdom obstructed access to the Chinese coast. In the same way, if political instability hindered trade through Central Asia, then north Indian kingdoms were liable to suffer economically, for they possessed no mercantile ships to dispatch along the alternative routes. The discussion of the triangular relations among the Chola kingdom, Śrīvijaya, and the Song court, and especially the Chola raid on Śrīvijayan ports in the eleventh century, in the next chapter will elaborate upon this claim. Chola traders had no option of using the "alternate" land routes when the maritime channel was obstructed by the Śrīvijayan kingdom. In order to bypass the maritime channel, the Cholas would have had to overhaul completely their trading structure and transportation system. Because the Indian subcontinent was, at any given time in its premodern history, ruled by many political entities, separated by geographical and cultural borders, bypassing one trading route for another would not have been a feasible alternative. If a kingdom had the ability, as the Cholas apparently did, to remove the obstruction on the trading routes, then it continued to benefit from long-distance trade. If not, then any economic activities of the kingdom that depended on the obstructed trade route probably dwindled. Thus, in a general sense, while the overland and maritime trade routes linking India and China did function in a complementary fashion, the shifts in their use influenced regional economy, society, and even the types and volume of commodities traded between the two countries.

143. The Chinese origin of most of these products is examined in Thapliyal's *Foreign Elements.*

144. *Bṛhadkalpabhāṣya* 4: 3661, quoted in S. G. Kantawala's *Cultural History from the Matsyapurāṇa* (Baroda: The Maharaja Savajirao University of Baroda, 1964): 245; and Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, 48.

145. *Mahābhārata* (Gorakhpur: Geeta Press, Sam. 2023–26) Sabhā 47.22; cited in Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, 48.

146. *Arthśāstra* (University of Bombay, 1963), 2:11.114. A detailed discussion on *Cīnapaṭṭa* is Rao Zongyi's "Shubu yu Cīnapaṭṭa," repr. in *Fanxue ji*, ed. Rao Zongyi, 221–260.

147. *The Periplus of the Erytheaean Sea*, 56.

148. Liu, *Ancient India*, 69. See also her *Silk and Religion*, 1–72.

149. *Kuvalayamālā*, 66–67. This is reported by a merchant during a congregation of local and long-distance traders. The merchant reports, "I took buffaloes and wild buffaloes and went to Cīna and Mahācīna and got from there *gangāpata* and *nētrapata* and thereby made profit." See Jain's translation in "An Account of the Trade," 276.

150. See E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas trans., *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa* (repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1961): 125 and 150. Also cited in Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 84.

151. Thapliyal, *Foreign Elements*, 57–58.

152. Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 71–85.

153. Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 69–70.

154. Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 186, n. 4.

155. Finlay, "The Culture of Porcelain," 158.

156. Subbarayalu, "Chinese Ceramics"; Rougeulle, "Medieval Trade Networks"; and Gray, "The Export of Chinese Porcelain."

157. B. Gray, "The Export of Chinese Porcelain"; and John Carswell, "China and Islam: A Survey of the Coast of India and Ceylon," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 42 (1978): 25–68.

158. See note 10 above.

159. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches*, 242–245.

160. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches*, 246.

161. Liu, *Ancient India and Ancient China*, 157; and Romila Thapar, "Black Gold: South Asia and the Roman Maritime Trade," *South Asia* 15.2 (1992): 1–27.

162. Pointing out this important fact, Xinru Liu notes that cotton garments imported into China were very expensive and only a few members of the clergy could afford to wear them. See Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 51; and Elfriede Regina Knauer, *The Camel's Load in Life and Death: Iconography and Ideology of Chinese Pottery Figurines from Han to Tang and Their Relevance to Trade along the Silk Routes* (Zürich: Haeberlin & Partner, 1998): 77, n. 94. The use of the Indian cloth seems to have become more common after the thirteenth century with the gradual increase in the export of various grades of cotton fabric to China.

163. See Chapter 5.

164. *Renwang huguo boreboremiduo jing toluoni niansong yigui*, T. 994, translated by Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998): 184.

165. On the local production of silver and gold under the Tang dynasty, including a detailed analysis of objects excavated from the Famen Monastery crypt, see Qi Dongfang, *Tangdai jin yin qi yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 1999).

166. *Fayuan zhulin*, T. 2122: 497c.28–498a.2.

167. *Youyang zazu, Xu ji* 5 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1965): 220; translated in Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 266.

168. Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, esp. Chapters 7 and 13.

169. See Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, Chapter 7; and Robert Sharf, "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China," *History of Religions* 32.1 (1992): 1–31.

170. Dunnell, *The Great State*, 38–39.

171. On the popularity of relic cult in premodern Japan, see Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes.*

172. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 36.

173. The demand for printed versions of the Song Buddhist canon in East Asia, as pointed out in Chapter 3, was intimately linked to this view of the impending demise of Buddhism. The Khitans, who had Buddhist texts inscribed on rocks, are known to have entombed the remains of the Buddha and *sūtras* especially to prevent them from disappearing. See Hsueh-man Shen, "The Use of Texts in Liao Tomb Burials and Relic Deposits" (paper presented at Princeton University, May 13, 2002).

174. The *Fozu lidai tongzai* T. 2036, for example, reports of continued procurement of Buddhist remains and artifacts from India during the Yuan period. See esp. scrolls 32 and 35.

175. On the evidence for bulk products transported through the Silk Route, see Knauer, *The Camel's Load in Life and Death.*

176. Knauer, *The Camel's Load in Life and Death*, 98–102.

177. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade," 453–488.

178. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade," 454.

179. On Song trading networks and distribution of commodities within China, see Shiba, *Sōdai*; and Hugh R. Clark, *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. Chapters 5 and 6.

180. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade"; and Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32.2 (June 1959): 5–140.

181. See Abraham, *Two Medieval*, 156–181.

182. On the list of products exported to China from Indian ports, see Moria Tampoe, *Maritime Trade between China and the West: An Archeological Study of the Ceramics from Siraf (Persian Gulf), 8th to 15th centuries A.D.* (Osney Mead: BAR International, 1989): 131.

183. The comparative prescriptions are given in Hartwell, "Foreign Trade," 477–478. The original source of the ingredients, given in parenthesis, is based on Wheatley, "Geographical Notes." Hartwell points out that since percentages are computed on weighted averages of all formula, the total percentage for the Northern Song prescription is over 100.

184. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade," 455–456.

Chapter Five

1. See, for example, Jerry H. Bentley, *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), Chapter 4.

2. Bentley, "Cross-cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History," *The American Historical Review* 101.3 (June 1996): 766.

3. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 32–37. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall have added a ninth subsytem, Mali-Mediterranean, to Abu-Lughod's original eight. See *Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997): 169.

4. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 255.

5. Abu-Loghod, *Before European Hegemony*, 8–20.

6. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 4. See note 11 below for the idea of a "modern world system" formulated by Immanuel Wallerstein.

7. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 94–95, 170–175, and 236–239.

8. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 361.

9. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony*, 347.

10. See Andre Gunder Frank, *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and his essays in *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?*, eds. Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills (London: Routledge, 1993).

11. Immanuel Wallerstein first proposed the idea of a world-system in his seminal work *The Modern World-System*. Wallerstein explains that the world-system is "a unit with a single division of labor, but multiple cultural and political system." The interregional relationship within this system, which emerged in the sixteenth century, was that of an unequal economic association between the rich and poor states. Wallerstein contends that the economically developed states of Europe formed the core or the central ring of this system consisting of three concentric circles. The "middling or intermediate" nations formed the second circle (or the semi-periphery), and the poor and underdeveloped states, including those colonized by Europe, the third circle (or the periphery). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this system eventually evolved into what he calls a single "the capitalist world-economy" dominated by European nation-states such as Great Britain and France. See Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," reprinted in *The Essential Wallerstein*, ed. Immanuel Wallerstein (New York: The New Press, 2000): 71–105. The notion of an integrated world economic system, albeit without a hegemonic power, has been employed by Janet Abu-Lughod for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Andre Gunder Frank and others, on the other hand, have argued for the existence of multiple world systems stretching back five thousand years. While Wallerstein's world-system is usually hyphenated and

sometimes plural (world-systems), the premodern world system is written without a hyphen (world system). See Frank, *ReOrient*; and Frank and Gills eds., *The World System*.

12. *Jiu Tang shu*, 198: 5307; and *Xin Tang shu*, 221a: 6238. On the symbolism attached to the Bodhi Tree, see Chapter 1, n. 126.

13. *Cefu yuangui*, 971: 11410b.

14. *Cefu yuangui*, 970:11401a. See also Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 90. Jiabiye might be a mistake for Jiabiluo, i.e., Kapilavastu.

15. *Cefu yuangui*, 971: 11406b.

16. The first mongoose was presented to the Tang court in 642 (*Cefu yuangui* 970: 11399a), and the second in 652 (*Cefu yuangui* 970: 11401a). See also Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 91.

17. See, for example, Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 79–91.

18. *The Harṣa-carita*, 211–214; and Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 77.

19. See *The T'ang Code: Volume II, Specific Articles*, translated by Wallace Johnson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): 55.

20. Ji Xianlin, *Wenhua jiaoliu*, 180–184; and Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China*, 22–27.

21. Wang Zhou, *Tangshuang pu* 1 (Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1985):1. This passage is also translated in Daniels, "Agro-Industries," 382–384; and Mazumdar, *Sugar and Society in China*, 22.

22. See Chapter 2.

23. See Chapter 1, n. 111.

24. *Fayuan zhulin*, T.2122: 597b.7–12.

25. Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 268.

26. *Da Tang da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T. 2053: 252b.18-c.24; Li Rongxi, *A Biography*, 173–175; and Bagchi, *India and China*, 195–196.

27. Bagchi, *India and China*, 196.

28. Paul Pelliot, "Notes sur quelques artistes de Six Dynasties et des T'ang," *T'oung Pao* 22 (1923): 238ff; and Bagchi, *India and China*, 195.

29. *Lidai minghua ji*, 9: 298; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang*, 255; and Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 268.

30. See Chapter 4, n. 10.

31. See Yen Chüan-Ying, "The Tower of Seven Jewels and Empress Wu," *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 22.1 (March-April 1987): 1–18.

32. Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, 265; and Forte, "On the So-called Abraham from Persia: A Case of Mistaken Identity," in *Paul Pelliot, l'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, ed. Antonino Forte (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano de Cultura Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1996): 398.

33. See *Ennin's Diary*, 233–235.

34. *Ennin's Diary*, 253.

35. *Ennin's Diary*, 254–255.

36. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Francis Stewart Kershaw, "A Chinese Buddhist Water Vessel and Its Indian Prototype," *Artibus Asiae* 29.2–3 (1928):

122–141. The earliest recorded evidence regarding *kuṇḍikā* in China, however, dates from the second century B.C.E., when an envoy from the kingdom of Kucha, in Central Asia, presented it to the Han court. See J. P. Mallory and Victor H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies: Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000): 76.

37. See Denise Patry Leidy, "Kashmir and China: A Note about Styles and Dates," *Orientations* 28.2 (1997): 66–70.

38. Schafer points that three different kinds of Indian pepper were available to the Chinese during the Tang period: black pepper (Ch. *hujiao*), the more "fiery" one called *bibo* (Skt. *pippalī*), and the appetizer *pidengjia* (Skt. *viḍaṅga*). See Edward H. Schafer, "T'ang," in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspective*, ed. K. C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977): 110; and Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 149–152. Duan Chengshi reports that the first two kinds were products of the Magadha kingdom. See his *Youyang zazu* 18: 152.

39. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "Asian Sea Trade between the Tenth and Thirteenth Centuries and Its Impact on the States of Java and Bali," in *Archaeology of Seafaring: The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period*, ed. Himanshu Prabha Ray (Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1999): 221–270.

40. See Chapter 4 on the use of silk garments by the family members of Harṣa. Silk products are also reported to have been presented as tribute to the king of Kanauj by the kingdom of Kāmarūpa along with the exotic animals mentioned above. For a complete list of goods, many of them important commodities of foreign trade, see *The Harṣa-carita*, 211–214.

41. Stargardt, "Burma's Economic and Diplomatic Relations," 45.

42. See Colin Mackerras, *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic History: A Study in Sino-Uighur Relations 744–840* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), Introduction; and D. Sinor, Geng Shimin and Y. I. Kychanov, "The Uighurs, The Kyrgyz and the Tangut (Eighth to the Thirteenth Century," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Volume VI, The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century, Part One, The Historical, Social and Economic Setting*, eds. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris: UNESCO, 1997): 191–214.

43. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire*, Chapter 6.

44. The disintegration of the Tibetan empire seems to have been eventuated by the assassination of the anti-Buddhist King gLang-dar-ma by a Tantric monk. *Xin Tang shu* (216b: 6105) reports that since gLang-dar-ma left no heir to the Tibetan throne, an internal struggle broke out between various factions. During the ensuing period, small Tibetan kingdoms ruled Central Tibet and the surrounding regions. Some of these smaller kingdoms, such as those in the Amdo and Ladakh regions and in the Sutlej river valley, played an important role in the revival and growth of Buddhism in Tibet. For a general survey of this period of Tibetan history, see Helmut Hoffman, "Early and Medieval Tibet," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 385–395.

45. See Sinor, Geng, and Kychanov, "The Uighurs," 197–200. On the Chinese involvement in the Uighur-Kyrgyz conflict, see Michael Robert Drompp, "The Writings of Li Te-yu as Sources for the History of T'ang-Inner Asian Relations," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1986).

46. See Christopher I. Beckwith, "The Impact of the Horse and Silk Trade on the Economies of T'ang China and the Uighur Empire: On the Importance of International Commerce in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991): 183–198.

47. See Ahmad, *Arabic Classical Accounts*, 6.

48. See Ahmad, *Arabic Classical Account*, 44.

49. Stargardt, "Burma's Economic and Diplomatic Relations."

50. On Nanzhao's war with Tang China and invasion of Annam in the second half of the ninth century, see Backus, *The Nan-chao*, Chapter 6.

51. *Fozu tongji* (T. 2035: 391a.3–19) reports that in 918 an Indian monk by the name of Bodaluo made it to the Sichuan region of China through the Myanmar route. According to Zhipan, Bodaluo was one of the few who had travelled through this route in recent years.

52. See Rong, "Dunhuang."

53. See Chapter 2.

54. See M. R. Tarafdar, "Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal," *The Indian Historical Review* 4.2 (1978): 274–286.

55. *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*, T. 2157: 876a.23–b.9. The ship carrying Vajrabodi is noted to be one of thirty-five Persian vessels that sailed together on this route to China. However, only the one carrying Vajrabodhi reportedly made it to the Chinese coast.

56. *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T. 2061: 712b.10–27; and Chou, "Tantrism in China," 288–290 and n. 29.

57. See Hirananda Shastri, "The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva," *Epigraphia Indica* 17 (1924): 311–317.

58. During his visit to India, the Chinese monk Yijing records that the monastic institution at Nālandā possessed more than two hundred villages. Similarly, epigraphic records note of such grants of lands to the Buddhist Monastery. The revenue collected from the lands and villages were used to meet the daily necessities of the monastic communities, including the purchase of incense and lamps, upkeep of the monastery, and "for various comforts of the revered *bhikṣus*." See Niyogi, *Buddhism*, 110–111.

59. *Tāranātha*'s, 278.

60. *Tāranātha*'s, 278.

61. See Jain, *Trade and Traders*, 35–42.

62. See Malik, *Merchants and Merchandise*, 55–63.

63. See Herbert Franz Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty: Translation of Chapters 93 and 94 of the Yüan shih* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956): 226.

64. See R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1979): 78–79.

65. See Lien-sheng Yang, "Buddhist Monasteries and Four Money-raising Institutions in Chinese History," reprinted in *Studies in Chinese Institutional History*, ed. Lien-sheng Yang (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961): 198–215. A detailed study of economic activities of Buddhist monasteries during the Song period is Huang Minzhi's *Songdai fojiao shehui jingji shi lunji* (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1989).

66. Yang, "Buddhist Monasteries"; Huang, *Songdai fojiao*, esp. Chapter 6; and Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, translated by Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

67. See Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, translated by Mark Elvin (Michigan: The University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1970): 156–164.

68. Economic activities in various Buddhist monasteries in Kaifeng is reported in *Dongjing menghua lu*. See esp. scroll three. For a detailed study of the Xiangguo Monastery, see Xiong Bolü, *Xiangguo si kao* (Henan: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1985).

69. Zhipan, *Fozu tong ji*, T. 2035: 396a.18–21; and *Song shi*, 490: 14104.

70. Shi Jinbo, *Xi Xia fojiao shilüe* (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1988): 231.

71. See Hartwell, *Tribute Missions*.

72. See Paul J. Smith's extensive study of the horse trade between the Tibetan tribes and Song China entitled *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, 1991).

73. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 265.

74. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 284.

75. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 333–334.

76. *Song hui yao* 84 (zhiguan 43) 43: 3303a; translated in Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 270.

77. See Gopal, *The Economic Life*, 111. On the markets and trading activities in Lakhnautī, see André Wink, *Al-Hind, The Making of the Indo-Islamic World:, Volume II: The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquests, 11th–13th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1997): 261.

78. Reports of imported Buddhist images and the invitations to Indian artisans and teachers are found in a number of Tibetan works. For the import of various Indian images used in newly constructed Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, see Robert Vitali, *The Kingdom of Gu-ge Pu-hrang According to mNga'ris rgyalrabs by Gu-ge mkhanchen Ngagdbang gragspa* (New Delhi: Indraprastha Press, 1996). On Indian teachers invited to Tibet and the joint travels of Buddhist

monks and merchants between India and Tibet, see *The Blue Annals*, translated by George N. Roerich (rept., New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996).

79. For trade and interactions in this circuit, see Wicks, *Money, Market, and Trade*, esp. Chapters 3 and 4.

80. See Wink, *Al-Hind*, 2: 8–23.

81. A recent study of trade in the Bay of Bengal circuit during the tenth and eleventh centuries is Kenneth R. Hall, "Coinage, Trade and Economy in Early South India and Its Southeast Asian Neighbours," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 36.4 (1999): 431–459. See also Tilman Frasch, "The Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300–1300," in *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea*, eds. Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998): 69–92.

82. A detailed examination of the eleventh-century world system and the connection between the circuits mentioned here is planned for a separate essay tentatively entitled "The Formation of the Eleventh-Century World System."

83. Shastri, "The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva."

84. Abraham, *Two Medieval*, 139. See also Hall, *Trade and Statecraft*, 169–170.

85. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's *The Cōḷas* (repr., Madras: Madras University Press, 1975): 209–220. See also Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese: Studies in the Geography of the Malay Peninsula Before* A.D. *1500* (1961; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973): 199–203.

86. Nilakanta Sastri points out that the inscription here is referring to the king of Śrīvijaya. See *The Cōḷas*, 212.

87. Translated in Nilakanta Sastri's *The Cōḷas*, 211–213.

88. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 316–317.

89. See, for example, Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, 218–220.

90. George Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya* (Madras: New Era, 1983): 144.

91. See Sen, "Maritime Contacts."

92. Marco Polo reports that the consumption of black pepper in Hangzhou, the Southern Song capital, was two hundred twenty-three pounds a day. While the black pepper from the Malabar coast of India was considered to be of superior quality, the cheaper but lower grade black pepper produced in northern Sumatra was exported to Song China in large quantities. It is possible that the export of black pepper from India to China was handled by the Tamil-speaking Ayyāvoḷe merchants, who, as Meera Abraham points out, were established at some of the major black pepper producing regions of South Asia. See Abraham's *Two Medieval*, 176–177. On the supply of lower grade Southeast Asian pepper to China, see Jan Wissemen, "Markets and Trade in Pre-Majapahit Java," in *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Pre-history, History and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. Hutterer (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977): 197–212; and Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985): 210.

93. For Śrīvijayan diplomatic activity in the Indian Ocean during the eleventh century and the perceived commercial threat from the Cholas, see O.W. Wolters, "Tāmbraliṅga," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21 (1958): 604–605.

94. *Song shi,* 489:14087.

95. *Song hui yao* (119[fanyi 7]:7849b) reports that in 1016, the prefect of Guangzhou requested the Song court to limit the members of embassies from the Cholas, Arab, Śrīvijaya, and Java to not more than twenty people in addition to one main envoy, a vice envoy, and an administrative assistant. The prefect also requested that the embassies from Champā, Tāmbraliṅga, Borneo, and others be limited to eighteen people. It is incorrect to interpret this petition to mean, as O. W. Wolters has proposed, that the Cholas received a "first-class status together with the Arabs, Śrīvijaya, and Java" from the Song court. See Wolters, "Tāmbraliṅga," 605. Rather, the petition may indicate that the Chola mission was initially given the same right to trade in Guangzhou as their Arab, Śrīvijayan, and Javan counterparts. This, in turn, would have further compelled the Śrīvijayans to provide the false perception of Chola kingdom's military strength to the Chinese authorities. Consequently, the Song court, by the Xining reign period, was fully convinced that the Chola state was subjugated by the Śrīvijayans and deserved the status similar to that of Kucha.

96. The low status given to the Chola embassies was also noticed by Nilakanta Sastri. He correctly notes that the ignorance of Chinese officials in addition to "the readiness of the ambassadors of Śrī Vijaya to indulge in unjust misrepresentations relating to Cōḷa must have combined to bring about the situation. . . ." See *The Cōḷas,* 317–318. For a recent study on confusing Chinese records about the Chola kingdom and its relationship to Śrīvijaya, see Sumio Fukami, "San-fo-qi, Srivijaya, and the Historiography of Insular Southeast Asia," in *Commerce et Navigation en Asie du Sud-Est (XIV^e-XIX^e siéle),* ed. Nguyê Thê'Anh and Yoshiaki Ishizawa (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1999): 31–45.

97. *Zhu fan zhi,* 13.

98. This is perhaps the same "Xining mission" the Chinese official was referring to in 1106.

99. *Song shi,* 489: 14098–14099; and *Song hui yao* 199 (fanyi7): 7856b.

100. *Song shi,* 489: 14090.

101. Tan Yeok Seong, "The Sri Vijayan Inscription of Canton (A.D. 1079)," *Journal of South East Asian History* 5.2 (1964): 9–11.

102. The reconstruction of Dihuajialuo as Kulōttuṅga is impossible. Obviously Dihuajialuo and Kulōttuṅga were two different people, and, as discussed later in the chapter, natives of two distinct states.

103. Tan, "Sri Vijayan," 20.

104. Spencer, *Politics of Expansion,* 146–147.

105. Spencer, *Politics of Expansion,* 148.

106. Hermann Kulke suggests that after the sacking of the Southeast Asian ports, the Cholas under Kulōttuṅga may have supported "one faction of the

Srivijayan court or one port-city of its confederation," while, "another faction could have spread the news that the Chola kingdom had become a vassal of Srivijaya." See "Rivalry and Competition," 29. This explanation is more plausible than the theories offered by Tan and Spencer.

107. A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo: The Description of the World* (London: George Routledge & Sons Limited, 1938): 351.

108. T. N. Subramaniam, "A Tamil Colony in Mediaeval China," in *South Indian Studies*, ed., R. Nagaswamy (Madras: Society for Archaelogical, Historical and Epigraphical Research, 1978): 8.

109. See Karashima Noboru, "Jūsan seikī matsu ni okeru mīnami Indo to Chūgoku no aida no kōryū: Senshu Tamirugo kokuban to 'Genshi' 'Bahachijiden' o megutte," in *Enoki hakushi shōju kiken tōyōshi ronsō* (Tokyo: Enoki hakushi shōju kiken tōyōshi ronsō hen sa iinka), 77–105.

110. An alternate reading of the last part of the sentence can be "... compiled the *sūtra* of the Great Mountain (Mahāmeru?) without the help of a teacher."

111. See the following two articles by John Guy: "The Lost Temples of Nagapattinam and Quanzhou: A Study in Sino-Indian Relations," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 3 (1993–1994): 291–310; and "Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade," in *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou*, 1000–1400, ed., Angela Schottenhammer (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 283–308.

112. Fang Ting et al., [*Qianlong*] *Jinjiang xianzhi* 15: 7a; cited in Clark, "Muslims and Hindus," 57.

113. On Brahmanical images found in Southeast Asia, see Stanley J. O'Connor, *Hindu Gods of Peninsular Siam* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1972). A recent comprehensive study of Tamil-language tablets from Southeast Asia is Jan Wisseman Christie's "The Medieval Tamil-language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29.2 (September 1998): 239–268.

114. Victor H. Mair, "Suen Wu-kung=Hanumat? The Progress of a Scholarly Debate," *Proceedings on the Second International Conference on Sinology* (Taibei: Academia Sinica, 1989): 659–753.

115. On Zheng Qiao's discussion of the Indian writing system and his use of the Grantha script, see Victor H. Mair, "Cheng Ch'iao's Understanding of Sanskrit: The Concept of Spelling in China," in *A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Jao Tsung-I on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Anniversary*, ed. Editorial Board of a Festschrift in Honour of Professor Jao Tsung-I on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Anniversary (Kowloon: Chung Hwa Book Co., 1993): 331–341.

116. See Mair, "Cheng Ch'iao's Understanding of Sanskrit," 340, n. 29.

117. In addition, the Chinese visitors to the Indian coast during the Ming period, most prominently Ma Huan, invariably describe the Brahmanical religion practiced in southern India as Buddhism.

118. Jung-pang Lo, "The Emergence of China as a Sea Power during the Late Sung and Early Yüan Periods," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14.4 (May 1955): 489–503;

and Lo, "Maritime Commerce and its Relations to the Sung Navy," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 57–101.

119. Some of the best studies in English on this work have been done by Roderich Ptak. These include "Images of Maritime Asia in Two Yuan Texts: *Daoyi zhilüe* and *Yuyu zhi*," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 25 (1995): 47–75; "Glosses on Wang Dayuan's *Daoyi zhilüe*," in *Récits de voyages asiatiques: genres, mentalités, conception de l'espace. Actes du colloque EFEO-EHESS de décembre 1994*, ed. Claudine Salmon (Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1996): 127–141; and "Wang Dayuan on Kerala," *Explorations in the History of South Asia: Essays in Honour of Dietmar Rothermund*, eds. Georg Berkemer, Tilman Frasch, Hermann Kulke, and Jürgen Lütt (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001): 39–52.

120. Su Jiqing annot., *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981): 285.

121. Su, *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi*, 286–287.

122. See Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, 229–238.

123. Rockhill, "Notes, Part I," 430–433. Yang Dingbi is reported to have returned to southern India as an envoy to the kingdom of Quilon in 1282. In fact, embassies continued to be frequently exchanged between southern India and the Yuan throughout the 1280s and 1290s. See Rockhill, "Notes, Part I" 434–444.

124. Usually, Boali/Buali is described as a prince of Ma'bar. Roderich Ptak has, however, convincingly argued that he was only the son of a wealthy Ma'bar nobleman. See Ptak, "Yuan and Early Ming Notices on the Kayal Area in South India," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 80 (1993): 141–142.

125. On this episode, other than Ptak's above-mentioned study, see Rockhill, "Notes, Part I," 430–433; Chen Gaohua, "Yindu Mabaer wangzi Bohali lai Hua xinkao," *Nankai xuebao* 4 (1980): 70–73; and Yang Qinzhang, "Yuandai Quanzhou yu nan Yindu guanxi xinzheng," in *Zhongguo yu haishang sichou zhilu*, ed. Lianheguo jiaokewen zuzhi haishang sichou zhi lu zonghe kaocha, Quanzhou guoji xueshu taolun hui zuzhi weiyuanhui (Quanzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991): 195–207.

126. See Ptak, "Yuan and Early Ming."

127. See Ptak, "Wang Dayuan on Kerala"; and Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century, Part II," *T'oung Pao* 16 (1915): 435–467.

128. *Yuan shi* 210 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976): 4669–4670.

129. H.A.R Gibb translated, *Ibn Battúta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354* (1929; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992): 234–236.

130. For exchanges between Calicut and China during the Ming dynasty, see Roderich Ptak, "China and Calicut in the Early Ming Period; Envoys and Tribute Embassies," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1989): 81–111.

131. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta*, 234–240; and 288–292.

132. For a detailed study of Ma Huan and his record, see J.V.G. Mills, *Ma Huan Ying-yai sheng-lan: 'The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

133. Modified from Mills's translation in *Ma Huan*, 140–141.

Conclusion

1. Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 8.
2. Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 8.
3. Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 9.
4. Bentley, *Old World Encounters*, 15.
5. Mote, *Imperial China*, 162–163.
6. *Tushu bian* 29 (Siku quanshu edition): 51a-b.
7. See Richard J. Smith, "Mapping China's World: Cultural Cartography in Late Imperial Times," in *Landscape, Culture, and Power in Chinese Society*, ed. Wen-shin Yeh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998): 59. This map is also discussed in detail by H. Nakamura in "Old Chinese World-Maps Preserved by the Koreans," *Imago Mundi* 4 (1947): 3–22.
8. See J.V.G. Mills trans., *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Star Raft by Fei Hsin* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlang, 1996): 75.
9. See Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405–1433* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 137–153.
10. See, for example, Roderich Ptak, "China and Calicut."

GLOSSARY

Aluonashun 阿羅那順
An Lushan 安祿山
Ayu wang zhuan 阿育王傳

banmi 半蜜
Baosiwei 寶思惟
Baoyu jing 寶雨經
Beixian 悲賢
biandi 邊地
Bianjing 汴京
Bin 豳
Bingbu yuanwai lang 兵部員外郎
binglai 并來
bishou 筆受
bitang 閉堂
Boali/Buali 孛阿里/不阿里
Bore 般若
Bukong jin'gang 不空金剛

canyi 參譯
Chaboheluo 茶鎛和羅
Chali Wutai 刹利烏臺
Changsheng yuan 長生院
chanjiao 闡教
Chaosan dafu 朝散大夫
Chen Shu 陳恕
chu 初
Chu yao jing 出曜經

Chuanfa yuan 傳法院
Chuanfan dashi 傳梵大師
Chuanjiao dashi 傳教大師
Ci'en 慈恩
Cishi 慈氏
Cui Dunli 崔敦禮

Da Tang shengchao Wuyouwangsi zhenshen baota beiming 大唐聖朝無憂王寺真身寶塔碑銘
Daizong 代宗
Dalimoboluo 達理摩波羅
Dalimoluochaduo 達理摩犖叉多
Damoliuzhi 達摩流支
Damonantuo 達摩難陀
Daode jing 道德經
Daorong 道融
Dasheng mizang jing 大乘密藏經
Daxingshansi 大興善寺
Dayun jing 大雲經
dengshi 燈史
Dezong 德宗
Dianzhi 殿直
Dihuajialuo 地華加羅
Dimoxina 地摩西那
Dinafudi 地那伏蒂
dinggu 頂骨
Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅

dizhu 地主
Dongtai Shilang 東臺侍郎
Dujian 都監
Dupoju 度破具

Fa ji yaosong jing 法集要頌經
Fadu 法度
Fahu 法護
Fahua jing 法華經
Fajin 法進
Falun wang 法輪王
Famensi 法門寺
fan 梵
fanhu 番胡
Fanmo 梵摩
fanseng 梵僧
Fatian 法天
Faxian 法顯
Faxian (Dharmabhadra) 法賢
Fazang 法藏
Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經
Foshuo dabeikong zhi jin'gang dajiaowang yigui jing 佛說大悲空智金剛大教王儀軌經
Fotudeng (Fotucheng) 佛圖澄
Fufeng 扶風

Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝
Gaozong 高宗
Gaozu 高祖
gu 骨
Guan duwei 關都尉
Guanglu qing 光祿卿
Guangwu 光武
Guojia xiangrui lu 國家祥瑞錄
Gushimi 箇失密

Han 漢
Han Yu 韓愈
Handi 漢地
Hanguang 含光
Hanshi 漢使
Hansi 漢寺
hao 鄗
helidiye 紇哩第野
Helinaye 紇哩那野
Hexiezhi 曷擷支
Honglu si 鴻臚寺
hu 胡
Huaide jun 懷德軍
Huaihua da jiangjun 懷化大將軍
Huatuo 華佗
huben 胡本
huguo 護國
huibian 慧辯
Huida 慧達
huigan 㴆肝
Huineng 慧能
Huixun 慧詢
Huizhi 慧智
Huizong 慧宗

Jiabiye 迦毗葉
Jialuochiduo 迦羅吃哆
Jiamiduoluo 迦密多羅
Jiang Shiren 將師仁
jiangjun 將軍
Jiangukaigongsi 堅固鎧宮寺
jianxuan fanben 兼宣梵本
Jianye 建業
Jiaozhi 交趾
jiasha 袈裟
Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅
Jiaye Wudan 迦葉烏擔
Jiayemoteng 迦葉摩騰
Jibin 罽賓
Jielong 戒龍
Jieruojushe 羯若鞠闍
Jieshi 竭師
jimi fuzhou 羈縻府州
Jincheng 金成
jing 經
Jin'gangzhi 金剛智
Jin'gesi 金閣寺
Jinguang 金光

Jingyou Tianzhu ziyuan 景祐天竺字源
Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什
Jixian 寂賢
Jixiang 吉祥
Jiye 繼業
Jōjin 成尋
Juecheng 覺稱
junshi 軍士

kaitang 開堂
Kaiyuan 開元
kanding 刊定
Kang Senghui 康僧會
Kongwang 孔望

Li Min 李敏
Li Mu 李穆
Li Shimin 李世民
Li Wuchan 李無諂
Li Yibiao 李義表
Liang Huaijing 梁壞璥
Liangshui fa 兩稅法
Lianyungang 連雲港
Lihuo lun 理惑論
Louqinana 婁其那那
Lujiayiduo 魯伽逸多
Luo 羅
Luohuluo 囉護囉
Luohuna 羅護那
Luzhou 鄜州

Mabaer 馬八兒
Matuhualuo 麻圖華羅
miao shi 廟市
Mile 彌勒
Milin 密林
Ming (Dynasty) 明
Ming (Emperor) 明
Mingjiao dashi 明教大師
mingtang 明堂
mingwu 明悟
mofa 末法
Mojiatiguo 摩迦提國
Moluofamo 摩羅拔摩
Mouzi 牟子

Naliantiliyeshe 那連提耶舍
Naluoershapo[mei] 那羅邇娑婆寐
Nanbeipada 南卑琶打
Nankang 南康
Niluo 尼囉
Nimotuozhilidi 尼沒馱計哩帝

Pinnayejia jing 頻那夜迦經
Poluomen yu 婆羅門語
Pu Jiaxin 蒲加心
Pu Mawutuopoli 蒲麻勿陀婆離
Pu Yatuoli 蒲押陀離
Pusa benshengman lun 菩薩本生鬘論

qi 乞
Qiande 乾德
qianshi 遣使
Qiantuowei 乾陀衛
qibao 七寶
Qiluoluo 奇囉囉
Qingliang shan 清涼山
Qinguo 秦國
Qizhou 岐州
Quanzhou 泉州

Renzong 仁宗
Richeng 日稱
runse 潤色
runwen tang 潤文堂

Saichō 最澄
Samanduo 薩滿多
Sengjiapamo 僧迦趴摩
Sengqie 僧伽
Sha(Po)lisanwen 娑婆裏三文
shang zhengbianzhi 上正遍知
Shaode 紹德
Sheli rui tu jing 舍利瑞圖經
Shemoteng 攝摩騰
Shendu 身毒

Shetisina 闍提斯那
Shi Guangluqing 試光祿卿
Shi Honglu qing 試鴻臚卿
Shibo si 市舶寺
Shichanantuo 實叉難陀
Shihu 施護
Shilinaluosengjiamo 尸利那羅僧伽摩
Shiluoyiduo 尸羅逸多
shimi 石蜜
Shiziguo shu 師子國書
Shizong 世宗
shuzi fanxueseng 書字梵學僧
Sui 隋
Sun Quan 孫權
Sushilizhi 蘇失利之

Taipingxingguo 太平興國
Taipingxingguosi 太平興國寺
Taizu 太祖
Tang 唐
Tianmu 天木
Tiantai 天臺
tiantang 天堂
Tianxia 天下
Tianxizai 天息災
Tianzhu ren 天竺人
Toba Yu 拓跋育

Wang Guicong 王龜從
Wang Xuance 王玄策
Wangshecheng 王舍城
Weijing 惟淨
wen 文
Wenshushili 文殊室利
wu 武
wu wuming wuming 無無明無明
Wu Zetian 武則天
Wutai shan 五臺山
Wuzong 武宗

Xi Tianzhu 西天竺
Xi Tianzhu shu 西天竺書
xiangfa 像法
Xiangguosi 相國寺
Xiangshan 香山
Xianjiao dashi 顯教大師
Xianping 咸平
Xiao Bolü 小勃律
xie fanben 寫梵本
Xifang shengxian ji 西方聖賢集
xin 心
Xingqin 行勤
xingzhuang ru xiao zhi 形狀如小指
Xining 熙寧
Xiongnu 匈奴
Xiuxian dudufu 修鮮都督府
xuanjue 玄覺
xuanshi fanben 宣釋梵本
Xuanzang 玄奘
Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義
Xueshan 雪山

Yang Tingbi 楊庭璧
Yang Yue 楊說
Yijing shi 譯經使
Yijing tang 譯經堂
Yijing yuan 譯經院
yinggu 迎骨
Yinjing yuan 印經院
Yiqie rulai jin'gang sanye zuishang mimi dajiaowang jing 一切如來金剛三業最上秘密大教王經
yizhu 譯主
You 友
You shuaifuchangshi 右率府長使
Yuanhe 元和
Yueguang 月光
Yueguang tongzi jing 月光童子經
Yuezhi 月支
Yunqi wei 雲騎尉

Zhang (De) Liang 張(德)亮
Zhang Qian 張騫
Zhanran 湛然
Zhedi Weinaji 哲地未納几
Zhelouqibaluo 遮婁其拔羅

Zhendan 震旦
zheng fanwen 證梵文
Zheng He 鄭和
Zheng Qiao 鄭樵
Zheng Shoujun 鄭守均
zheng yiyu 證譯語
Zhengfa 正法
zhengwen 證文
zhengyi 證義
Zhengyi tang 證義堂
zhenshen 真身
Zhentuoluobili 真陀羅鉍利
Zhenzong 真宗
zhibi-zhuiwen 執筆綴文
Zhijixiang 智吉祥
Zhiyi 智顗
Zhong Tianzhu zi 中天竺字
Zhongcheng 中丞
Zhongguo 中國
Zhou (Dynasty) 周
Zhu 竺
Zhu Falan 竺法蘭
Zhu Pole 竺婆勒
Zhu Sixiang 竺思相
Zhu Youxuan 竺幼宣
Zhu Zhongxiang 竺眾相
zhuiwen 綴文
Zou 鄒
zuishang futian 最上福田

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